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A
MEMOIR
ON THE
EXPEDIENCY AND PRACTICABILITY,
OF
IMPROVING OR CREATING
HOME MARKETS
FOR THE SALE OF
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIONS
AND
RAW MATERIALS,
BY THE INTRODUCTION OR GROWTH OF
ARTIZANS AND MANUFACTURERS.

*Read before the Board of Agriculture of the State of New York,
March 8, 1825.*

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TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
FOUR APPENDICES.

“Whatever tends to diminish in any country the number of artificers and manufacturers, tends to diminish the home market, the most important of all markets for the rude produce of the land; and thereby still further to discourage agriculture.”—Smith’s Wealth of Nations, Vol. III. p. 149.

“If Europe will not take from us the products of our soil, upon terms consistent with our interest, the natural remedy is to contract as fast as possible our wants of her.”—Hamilton’s Report on Manufactures, p. 39.

“No earthly method remains for encouraging agriculture, where it has not reared up its head, that can be considered in any way efficacious, but the establishing proper manufactures in those countries you wish to encourage.”—Anderson on Industry, p. 70.

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"Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. *The object is of too much consequence not to ensure a continuance of their efforts, in every way which shall appear eligible.* Ought our country to remain dependent on foreign supply, precarious, because liable to be interrupted? If the necessary article should in this mode, cost more in time of peace, will not the security and independence thence arising, form an ample compensation?"—*Extract from Gen. Washington's Speech to both Houses of Congress, Dec. 7, 1796.*

"To cultivate peace and maintain commerce and navigation in all their lawful enterprises; to foster our fisheries as nurseries of navigation and for the nurture of man, and protect the manufactures adapted to our circumstances, &c. &c.—These, fellow citizens, are the landmarks by which we are to guide ourselves in all our proceedings."—*Extract from Mr. Jefferson's Message of Dec. 15, 1802.*

"The revision of our commercial laws, proper to adapt them to the arrangement which has taken place with Great Britain, will doubtless engage the early attention of Congress. It will be worthy, at the time, of their just and provident cares, to make such further alterations in the laws, as will more especially protect and foster the several branches of manufacture, which have been recently instituted or extended by the laudable exertions of our citizens."—*Extract from Mr. Madison's Message of 23d May, 1809.*

"Although other subjects will press more immediately on your deliberations, a portion of them cannot but be well bestowed on the just and sound policy of securing to our manufactures the success they have attained, and are still attaining, in some degree, under the impulse of causes not permanent.

"Besides the reasonableness of saving our manufacturers from sacrifices which a change of circumstances might bring on them, the national interest requires, that, with respect to such articles, at least, as belong to our defence, and our primary wants, we should not be left in unnecessary dependence on foreign supplies."—*Extract from Mr. Madison's Message of Nov. 5, 1811.*

"There is no subject which can enter with greater force into the deliberations of Congress, than a consideration of the means to preserve and promote the manufactures which have sprung into existence, and attained an unparalleled maturity throughout the United States during the period of the European wars. *This source of national independence and wealth, I anxiously recommend, therefore, to the prompt and constant guardianship of Congress.*"—*Extract from Mr. Madison's Message of Feb. 18, 1815.*

"So many circumstances must concur in introducing and maturing manufacturing establishments, especially of the more complicated kinds, that a country may remain long without them, although sufficiently advanced, and in some respects even peculiarly fitted for carrying them on with success. Under circumstances giving a powerful impulse to manufacturing industry, it has made among us a progress, and exhibited an efficiency, which justify the belief, that with a protection not more than is due to the enterprising citizens whose interests are now at stake, it will become, at an early day, not only safe against occasional competitions from abroad, but a source of domestic wealth, and even of external commerce."—*Extract from Mr. Madison's Message of 5th Dec. 1815.*

"Manufacturing establishments, if suffered to sink too low, or languish too long, may not revive, after the causes shall have ceased. In the vicissitudes of human affairs situations may recur, in which a dependence on foreign sources, for indispensable supplies, may be among the most serious embarrassments."—*Extract from Mr. Madison's Message of Dec. 3, 1816.*

"Our manufactures will likewise require the systematic and fostering care of the government. Possessing as we do, all the raw materials, the fruit of our own soil and industry, we ought not to depend in the degree we have done on the supplies from other countries. While we are thus dependent, the sudden event of war, unsought and unexpected, cannot fail to plunge us into the most serious difficulties. It is important, too, that the capital which nourishes our manufactures should be domestic, and its influences in that case, instead of exhausting, as it may do in foreign hands, would be felt advantageously on agriculture, and every other branch of industry. *Equally important is it to provide a home market for our raw materials, as by extending the competition, it will enhance the price, and protect the cultivator against the casualties incident to foreign markets.*"—*Extract from Mr. Monroe's Inaugural Message of 4th March, 1817.*

"Whatever may be the abstract doctrine in favour of unrestricted commerce, provided all nations would concur in it, and it was not liable to be interrupted by war, which has never occurred, and cannot be expected, there are other strong reasons applicable to our situation and relations with other countries, which impose on us the obligation to cherish and sustain our manufactures."—*Extract from Mr. Monroe's Message of 3d Dec. 1822.*

"I recommend a review of the tariff, for the purpose of affording such additional protection to those articles which we are prepared to manufacture, or which are more immediately connected with the defence and independence of our country."—*Extract from Mr. Monroe's Message of Dec. 2, 1823.*

A MEMOIR, &c.

GENTLEMEN—

The Board of Agriculture and Agricultural Societies were instituted for the purpose of promoting the landed, or farming interest, by such means and measures, as they respectively might deem best adapted to that end.

In general, the measures which have been adopted, have been those of eliciting and disseminating knowledge, as to the best modes of cultivating the land; the best breed of domestic animals; the most approved implements; the most useful seeds, plants, and grasses; of encouraging experiments in agricultural processes; the introduction and growth of superior animals, and practice of the best modes of cultivation; with encouragements to manufactures, by the cultivators of the land, or in private families: all tending, however, to encourage the growth of an illimitable quantity of agricultural productions.

I have long been of the opinion, that the most powerful inducements which could have been held out, have been omitted. I mean that of providing prompt and ready markets for these productions. Towards effecting this object, this board, and the county societies, it is believed, may do much.

A ready demand for agricultural productions, at remunerating prices, it is presumed, is the only adequate inducement which can be relied upon, for insuring a careful cultivation of the land, or for increasing the quantity of its produce. It appears almost certain, that no bounties or encouragements, which it is in the power of the state, or of societies, to pay directly to the agriculturist, can induce him to make much improvement in his modes of cultivation, or to raise any thing beyond the immediate demands of his family; while any surplus which he may raise, beyond that amount, shall be worth nothing; or where it cannot be sold or exchanged, upon terms of comparative equality with the profits of the capitals and labour employed in the production of the other articles required for his support.

That capital and labour applied to land, has become less productive, than a like quantity of capital and labour applied to almost any other object, is presumed to be notorious, and conceded. That this, more than any thing else, has paralyzed and discouraged the efforts of the agriculturists, is believed, and that it cannot be removed and overcome by any encouragements or bounties, which it is in the power of the state or societies to pay directly to those concerned in its cultivation. An efficient demand must be provided for the produce of the land, which shall leave to the capitals and persons employed upon it, compensations, which shall be equal, or nearly so, to those employed in producing the other necessities of life, before the desired improvements in the cultivation of land can reasonably be expected; and it is believed to be of much more importance to the farming interests of this country, that this demand should be provided, than to encourage

the growth of larger quantities of those articles, which cannot be sold at remunerating prices.

It is held that where particular branches of business are overdone, or do not leave to the capitals and persons employed in them, compensations equal to that of other branches, the unproductive will be abandoned to the necessary extent, and others taken up, until the compensations to all are equalized.

Although this proposition, as between persons and employments within the same government or country, may to a certain extent, be true; still it is not so in every case; and rarely, if ever so, when the articles upon which labour and capital are expended, are made in different and distant countries, and exchanged through the medium of external commerce. Articles, upon which but little capital or labour have been expended in one country, are of great price in another, where a knowledge of the art of making them is not understood, or sufficiently extended.

The rude tribes give large quantities of valuable articles or peltries, for articles of trifling value, in countries where the art of making them is understood. The channels of intercourse may moreover, be interrupted by wars; or the wants and policy of different countries may alter, requiring correspondent changes in all the countries concerned in mutually exchanging their labours and products with each other; particular arts, found to be of the first necessity, and difficult to learn or introduce at once, to the required extent, may have been neglected in a country, while articles, the product of those arts, were easily obtained in exchange for other products of the country. The neglect of those arts, and the frequency of those changes and interruptions, derange the pursuits and labours of the different countries, always affecting those most severely, whose products are least diversified, and confined to the smallest number of articles.

The population of this country is essentially agricultural, or, perhaps, more properly, agricultural and commercial; having by far too small a proportion, of that intermediate and manufacturing class, so indispensable in every well-arranged community; and we have been led into these pursuits, by causes common to most newly-settled countries, between which, and older manufacturing countries, commercial communications are allowed.

During our colonial state, manufactures were discouraged, and some of them forbidden by the mother country, under severe penalties; while labour was invited, and almost exclusively confined to the land, and to a limited commerce. The mother country, in the mean time, compelling us to take her manufactured articles, in exchange for the products of the land, under regulations, fixed by herself, in relation to that exchange.

Soon after the Revolution, the long belligerent state of Europe commenced, and continued, till within a few years. Through the whole course of these long wars, the landed produce of these states sold readily for cash, or was exchanged at fair prices, for the manufactured articles of foreign countries, which gave to our population a further impulse towards the land, to the neglect of manufactures.— These causes, together with the abundance and cheapness of land,

gave to this country the agricultural and commercial character which it now sustains; and has deeply fixed upon it the practice of exchanging the raw produce of the land, for the manufactured articles of foreign countries.

Our education, and all our habits and efforts, have been devoted almost exclusively to the increase of agricultural productions, and to the carrying and exchanging those productions for an unlimited variety of foreign manufactures. A very great majority of us have been bred to no other calling, and still remain ignorant of any other. We have continued in this practice, until the habit has become settled and fixed, and from which it is found difficult suddenly to depart. The opinion was extensively but vainly entertained, that it would be very late before it would become necessary to depart from it. It was presumed, that the wants and habits of foreign countries, had become as firmly and radically fixed to the practice of exchanging their manufactured articles, for our bread-stuffs and provisions, as our own; that the foreign countries with which we exchanged these commodities, could not well subsist without our agricultural productions; that the policy and interests of those countries, would ensure a continuance of this trade, as thereby they would retain their artizans at home, and find a market for much of their wool, iron, and other products, improved to the highest practicable value, by the labour of these artizans.—Experience has, however, realized exactly the reverse of our expectations.

It may have been a laudable desire to be independent of all other nations, which induced those manufacturing countries, on their part, to decline taking from us the only articles which we had to give them in exchange for their manufactures, while on our part, we remain so radically fixed to the use of foreign commodities, that we cannot refuse to receive them, under any of the disadvantageous terms imposed by those from whom we obtain them. / It is found that foreign countries subsist very well without any, or but a small proportion of our agricultural productions, and the most of them are absolutely refused admittance, under severe penalties;* while our taste and inclinations for their manufactures, are not at all abated, nor their consumption limited in this country, by any other rule, than our poverty, and want of the means of paying for them. We could give them agricultural produce in abundance; but since it is refused to be taken in exchange, it has become of little value. With the value of its products, land has fallen in price; its improvement is neglected; and the numerous class who hold, or cultivate land, have become disheartened, and discouraged.—Very many of them are under monied engagements, made in other times, and with different prospects, when money was valued less, and land and landed produce much higher, than at present.

It would be difficult to propose any measure likely to afford instant relief to the agricultural class. But it may be encouraged to hope for relief, in proportion as the labour and capital of the community shall become more equally distributed among the several branches of busi-

* See Note A, page 29.

ness, required in producing and manufacturing the articles of necessity, comfort and luxury, which at this time are required, and consumed in this country; and in proportion as the articles which may conveniently be grown in our climate, or manufactured from our raw materials, shall be grown, or made at home, and not imported from abroad.

In communities where labour and capital are equally distributed among all the trades and professions, to produce the necessities, comforts, and luxuries, which that community requires for its support, very little embarrassment is ever found; but in those, where, from whatever cause, only a part, or small proportion of those trades and professions are found, and those the more coarse or common, leaving the wealthy and more fashionable part of the community, to be supplied by foreign importations, great embarrassments are frequent; attributable to the causes already noticed.—Those communities are, moreover, comparatively poor; because the rich and fashionable, who command whatever money or means there may be in the country, apply that money or means at any required sacrifice, as it relates to the other classes, to the support of the artizans, productions, and manufactures of other countries. As a general rule, the wealth, comfort and strength of a community, are augmented or depressed, in proportion as it possesses a knowledge of all the arts and sciences, required in producing every article of its consumption, to which its climate is adapted, and in proportion to the industry with which those arts and sciences are prosecuted by that community.

The rude tribes of this country possessed extensive territories of fertile land; but they were ignorant of the arts of cultivation; their numbers and comforts were small, and their power insignificant. The Tartar, or cattle-raising regions, are more numerous. They have a surplus of cattle and horses, but nothing else. They feed on their flesh, and are clothed with their skins, and exchange a small proportion for implements of war. The people of this country have advanced one step beyond them. We have a surplus of cattle, bread-stuffs, provisions, and raw materials, with a few rude artizans; and here we stop, unless we take in the productions of the sea and of commerce. But we still remain dependent upon foreigners for nearly all the finer fabrics of woollen goods, to the amount of \$8,000,000—of cotton, to nearly \$6,000,000—of silk, more than \$5,000,000—cutlery, hardware, iron, steel, &c. nearly \$5,000,000; and a vast amount of other manufactured articles, exceeding altogether, \$31,000,000.

A nation can never be rich, let the extent of its territory, the fertility of its soil, and number of its people be what they may, if its labour and capital are limited to the production of but a small proportion of the commodities required for its consumption. For although it may produce a great surplus of some particular articles, which, at particular times, may possess fair exchangeable values, still it cannot be certain of the necessary exchanges; and it sometimes happens, that the exchange cannot be made on any terms. Its surplus articles then become of little value, while it remains in great want of the articles for which the exchange was intended. Mean

time, the subject upon which its capital and labour had been expended in producing the surplus, is neglected and goes to decay.

We have the land, and understand the art of raising bread-stuffs, provisions, and other landed products adapted to our climate; but our principal customers for those articles have forsaken us. They will not allow many of our articles to be consumed in their countries on any conditions. We have no control over them. They consult their own interests. If we had, however, the artizans for converting only one of the raw materials which we raise, and which we might readily raise to any required extent, (I mean the article of wool,) into the manufactured articles of that kind, now imported, it would afford great relief to the country.

But it is unfortunately our case, that the large space between the landed interest on the one hand, and mercantile and monied on the other, which in all well ordered communities is filled with artizans and manufacturers, is left nearly vacant in this; and we, the landed interest, feel at this time most sensibly the want of that class. We want it as the consumers of our bread-stuffs and provisions, and for the purpose, moreover, of converting our wool, hemp, flax, cotton, iron, and other raw materials, into the manufactured articles for which we have heretofore exchanged those raw materials with foreigners. Our rent-receiving, and interest-receiving gentlemen, our officers of government, professional and mercantile gentlemen, will not receive our products in the shape of raw materials, at adequate prices, for their demands against us, nor in the shape of coarse fabrics, into which some few of them may be converted by the half learned artizans of our country, while they have the option of taking these, or the finer and handsomer fabrics of foreign countries. But were the eight millions of dollars, now annually paid to foreigners by this country, for wool-len goods, to be distributed among our own people; to the farmer in part for the wool, and for the bread-stuffs and provisions consumed by the artizans while converting the wool into articles now imported, it cannot be doubted but that great relief would be afforded thereby to the farming or landed interest. The same may be said in respect to all the manufactured articles now imported.

The cause of this great depression of agriculture is obvious. *That branch of business, compared with every other, is overdone.* Above eighty per cent. of our population, is fixed, and, from habit and education, confined to that profession. A due proportion, compared with other and better organised countries, in this respect, would be much less, and that of artizans much greater. The proportion in each should be nearly equal; and there is no other way in which the board of agriculture or agricultural societies, can as well promote the farming interest, as by facilitating the introduction, rise, and increase of artizans, within this state, until their numbers shall be adequate to the demands of the country, and to the consumption of the agricultural productions raised in it. To effect this object, it will require not only the most vigorous efforts of this board, of the county societies, and of all good citizens, but the aid and protection of government. / *For it is most certain, that manufactures cannot be usefully and readily commenced in a country, which has been in the*

practice of receiving its supplies from foreign countries, let its population be what it may, unless they are protected, and defended from the interference of foreigners, until they have passed through the initiatory state, and have become acquainted with, and instructed in, the different arts and processes, indispensable to their profitable and useful prosecution.

It is asked by the objectors to the protection required, why the capital and labour which is now employed in the land, are not devoted to manufactures, if they afford better employment?

It may be answered, that the difficulties and losses to be encountered, at the commencement of any newly set up branch of manufacturing business, in a country where but very few of the mechanic arts have arrived at maturity, are much greater than meets the eye of a casual observer, and which cannot be overcome by any thing short of direct protection, or causes incidental and tantamount to that protection.

It is not only a knowledge of the practical operation, and application of the particular parts of a trade, about to be set up, which is to be learned, but the aid of other and distinct branches is to be called in, upon which the principal branch is incidentally dependent. The tools, implements and machines of the branch intended to be put into operation, are to be made by another, or several other different branches. If the manufacturers of these tools are not already located within the country for want of employment, (and they probably are not,) the tools, or the workmen to make them, are to be imported from abroad. But should these difficulties be surmounted, the articles manufactured in the principal branch, must be made in as workmanlike a manner, not only in every substantial particular, but as neat and fashionable as the article imported, or the foreign article will have the preference in the market.

It can hardly be expected, that new beginners can rival, at the commencement, old establishments in all these particulars. But should these difficulties be surmounted, there still remain further and more important embarrassments to be overcome. The old country manufacturers, English in particular, who have been in the practice of supplying, say woollen goods, to this country, have their workshops and machinery erected for that purpose. The owners of these works, and the workmen attached to them, depend for their daily bread upon sales in this country. The wool-grower, the merchant, and the shipper, all depend upon sales to be made here. The usual quantities, to supply the ordinary demand, are therefore made. If orders for them are diminished, the articles accumulate in the hands of the manufacturer, and in the absence of orders, they are sent out by the manufacturers themselves, in succeeding years. These goods are met in our market by the like articles made in this country. The market is overstocked. One, or a part of each of the quantities must be withdrawn, or both are to be sold at a sacrifice. Traders will never voluntarily agree to withdraw. Their necessities may compel them to sell. The older establishments, with greater experience and larger capitals, hold on to their accustomed markets. Not so with our new beginners. All their calculations have been made upon

obtaining the usual market price of the article. If they cannot obtain that, they are ruined. Their small establishments are stopped, and broken down; and the adventurers become the victims of their patriotism or their credulity.

England, from the earliest times, supplied our southern states with coarse woollen cloths, called negro-cloths.—For a few years, the English were excluded from these markets by the late embargo and war, and manufactories for making cloths, as substitutes, were established in the New England states, and some in this state. At first, these cloths sold for about seventy-five cents per yard; but at less, before the close of the war. After the war, they were met in those markets by large supplies from England, and they fell to below fifty cents. Orders were less frequent, or for diminished quantities, to England. The usual quantities continued to be made there and accumulated. The market continued to be pressed with both descriptions of cloths. The price declined to forty, to thirty-five, and thirty cents. In 1823-4, an immense mass, probably the entire accumulated quantity in England, was sent out, and being still met by cloths made here, fell to twenty-five, twenty, and even seventeen cents. That operation broke down our manufacturers; they gave up the markets to the English, who, unless the tariff of last year shall prevent them, will again take the market at former prices. The cotton bagging manufacturers of Kentucky, I am informed, met a similar fate in the decline and fall of their establishments.

There are several sets of articles, particularly all those made from wool and cotton, which might be made here, to the extent of the home demand, if not for exportation, if assurance should be given that the present prices would be maintained. There is no want of capital. The requisite stock of artizans would soon appear. But adventurers in these pursuits are deterred, and dare not undertake them; partly from the apprehension, that the present protection, by way of duties, may be abated; but much more so, from a dread of the competition which they well know must ensue between themselves and the foreigners, who have hitherto supplied the country with these articles. The consequence to the farming and landed interest is, that the wool is grown in foreign countries, instead of this, to clothe nearly all the rich and fashionable part of the community, and even labourers and servants. The provisions and bread-stuffs required to feed the artizans, while converting these articles into manufactured and saleable goods, are also supplied by foreigners. The consequences to the country and treasury are, that we are thereby disabled to pay for, and import, other articles which we want, and should, in that case, import, to the full amount of all we could and should make of these. In this state, *we have now more than five hundred thousand persons, clothed in the woollen and cotton goods made in foreign countries, and of foreign raw materials*, except part of the raw cotton. The importations of woollen and cotton, exceed sixteen millions; and the consumption, fourteen millions. The proportion of our people who consume them is immense.

These particulars are stated, to illustrate the position, that manufacturing establishments, commensurate with the wants of the com-

munity, cannot for a long time be expected to rise in this country, unless they be shielded and protected in their infancy by government; but that they may, with that protection, some of them, soon be expected to rise, without prejudice to the treasury, or the consumers of foreign goods, except, perhaps, a temporary rise in their price at the commencement. By gradually taking up and protecting particular articles in succession, such as could probably be supplied in the country, the whole would be ultimately taken up, protected, and made at home. Wool, cotton, and hemp, may claim the preference at the present; afterwards, iron, steel, and other goods, from time to time, until the whole catalogue of foreign manufactured articles are included. The farming interest and receipts into the treasury, would, at every step, be found to be promoted and advanced. The farming interest would soon find a home consumption, and home markets for all their productions; and in these, irresistible inducements for further improvements in their modes of cultivation. The capacity of the country to pay for larger quantities of the foreign articles, still remaining to be imported, charged with the payment of duties, would fill the treasury to overflowing.

I am aware, that I have given but a very inadequate view of the embarrassments and difficulties which attend the commencement of manufactures, in countries where the arts have been neglected. It is not so much from the want of hands, such as they are, or from the want of capital, that manufacturing is not commenced, as from the absence of the arts, and professions; or some one, or all of them, upon which a particular branch is dependent. The unskilfulness of workmen, and want of competition among them; and above all, the powerful, but inevitable competition, which the new beginner must meet with in the foreigner, who has before supplied the market. These difficulties and discouragements in the commencement of manufactures, are altogether such, in regard to many of them, *as the uniform experience of every country has found it impracticable to overcome, without the aid of the powerful shield of government to protect them against foreign competition in their infancy.*

My recollection may fail me in an attempt to suggest the numerous objections which have been urged, against granting the protection to manufactures required of government, or the different interests and professions by which they are made.

Among others it is held, that the country is not capable of furnishing the necessary stock and variety of raw materials; and, in particular, that it cannot supply the wool for woollen manufactures:

That a certain loss of revenue, derived from imports, must be sustained, and direct taxation, to make good the deficiency, must be a consequence of this protection:

That we have not the hands to spare from the other more healthful and profitable employments:

That congress are not authorized to grant the required protection, by taxing the many, for the benefit of the few; nor to cherish and elevate one class, to the prejudice of others, and particularly of the shipping interest, which is already established, and in successful operation:

The danger of smuggling; the destruction of all regular commerce; the demoralizing influence of manufacturing establishments; the great and unnecessary injury to the farming interest, as it would be at their expense, more immediately, that the required protection must be granted, were largely expatiated on.

It was asserted, that manufactures do not require further protection; they are doing well, and will increase as fast as the welfare of the country requires; and it is held by the cotton, sugar, and tobacco-growers, that it might excite the displeasure of England, and that, by way of retaliation, she may shut out their commodities from her markets.

Many of these objections have been answered and refuted, satisfactorily to my mind, still it may not be improper, at this time, briefly to notice some of them.

In regard to the capacity of the country to furnish the necessary quantity of wool.

It is said that wool cannot be grown in this country, in sufficient quantities to clothe its inhabitants. This is evidently erroneous. The only reason why wool has not heretofore been grown to any considerable amount is, that there has been no steady or efficient demand for it. The demand during our late war was great. Before that time, it was next to nothing, compared with other kinds of agricultural produce. During the war and embargo, the quantity of wool raised, was very much increased; and if the growers and manufacturers of that article in this country, could have been then defended from the interference of foreigners; and if foreign wool, in the shape of woollen cloths, had continued to be excluded; before this time, the quantity of wool raised, would not only have been equal to clothing the entire population of this country, but by necessary competition, the quality would have been improved, and its price reduced to the proper level, or below it. At the close of the war, however, the country was again inundated with foreign wool, in the shape of woollen manufactures; which had the preference to the cloths made by our half-learned artists. The consequence was, that our new beginners in the woollen manufacture, were broken down and ruined. Wool could hardly be sold at any price. Sheep became useless to the farmer; and the flocks of sheep were killed off by thousands, and their carcasses thrown to the hogs. The flocks of sheep were destroyed in this summary way, or by peddling them about in our markets, at from fifty to seventy-five cents per head, until the number was reduced to the demands of a part of our farmers, for the coarse fabrics made in their families, for their own use. The farmers have, however, lately, again slowly, and cautiously increased their flocks, apprehending in the mean time, another defeat, by some caprice of government, or change of times. The small addition to the tariff of last year, has increased their confidence. The flocks are now again more carefully attended to; but the price of wool may soon again decline, unless the duties on imports are further augmented, so as to draw into the country, or grow up in it, a sufficient stock of artisans, to make and supply all woollen goods required in the consumption of the country; and unless this stock of artisans shall be enlarged, and manufacto-

ries of the article established, commensurate with the demand of the country, another slaughter and destruction of sheep may be expected.

It is maintained, that no further protection ought to be provided for manufacturers, because the revenue derived to government from duties payable on importations, will thereby be diminished, and direct taxation be resorted to, as a necessary consequence of this protection.

If the reverse of this anticipation be not evident at first view, it is, nevertheless, beyond all question true. It may be taken as a general rule, that every nation imports commodities from abroad, of some sort, to about the amount which it is convenient for it to pay for, and beyond its ability to pay, it cannot for any length of time continue to import.

In England nearly every manufactured article, together with bread-stuffs and provisions, are directly or virtually prohibited. There still remains, however, even to England, a vast amount to be imported. All the articles whose growth requires a warmer or tropical climate, or which cannot be conveniently raised, or the value of which may be further augmented by the labour of her artizans.—The raw silks, oils and fruits of Italy; the cotton and tobacco of our southern states; the sugars, spirits, dye-stuffs, and fruits of the West Indies; the wines and fruits of Spain, Portugal, and other wine-raising countries; the teas of China; the hemp, flax, iron, and furs of Russia and Sweden; the timber and peltries of Canada and Norway, and a multitude of other articles. Her importations of some sort, taken in the aggregate from all the countries from which she imports, must, in the long run, equal, or thereabouts, her exportations; or she would no longer derive any benefit from her exportations; other nations having nothing which she wanted, or would take in exchange. The question is, whether by manufacturing, she is enabled to import more; the duties payable upon which, shall be productive in like proportion, to the smaller quantity, to which, without manufacturing, she must of necessity have been limited?

It is contended that she is thereby enabled to import more; and to illustrate this position, the trade of England is referred to; when that nation did not manufacture more than this country now does, when she sent her wool, raw materials, &c. to Flanders, and other countries and received cloths, and other manufactured articles in return; a practice which she continued for many centuries; in either of which, or even in half a century, by adopting her present policy, she might have greatly enlarged her number of people; ten folded her revenue from duties, and raised the nation to a state of the most enviable prosperity.

By reviewing the history of the manufactures and trade of England, it will be found, that, at the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, her revenue derived from customs, or duties, on all the imported articles, amounted to but £14,000 yearly. The measures adopted by that Queen, and her excellent minister, Cecil, in protection of the manufactures and trade of her people, raised the revenue from this source, in her time, to more than £50,000, and for these plain reasons, that her nobles, prelates, and gentry, consumed larger

quantities of home-made, instead of foreign articles; and her people were thereby enabled to earn more money by making them, and to import and pay for a greatly increased quantity of foreign articles, still remaining to be imported. For these facts and results, Anderson's History of Commerce, for the reign of that Queen, is referred to.

Although much was done during the reign of that monarch, the trade and manufactures of England in the succeeding, as in the former arbitrary reigns, to the revolution, underwent many fluctuations. From that time, the laws and regulations relating to manufactures and trade, could be no longer altered or changed for political or monied considerations, by the arbitrary proclamations of the King. Monopolies were put down, further prohibitions of manufactured articles were enacted, or enforced by severer penalties, until nearly every foreign manufactured article which could be made at home, was virtually excluded, by direct inhibition, or high duties. And it is worthy of remark, that, as foreign manufactures were excluded, the receipts from duties on importations augmented, until in 1822, they amounted to more than £11,000,000. These results are found to follow from the like causes, in all the countries whose statistical records have been examined; and prove, it is apprehended, conclusively, that the revenue of a country, and particularly of this country, derived from duties on imported articles, may certainly be augmented, by gradual diminutions of the importations of manufactured articles from abroad. But these results may be further illustrated by the experience of this country in the article of coarse cotton cloths. Before the commencement of the embargo and the late war, immense quantities of coarse cotton cloths were imported from India and England. Importations were suspended by the embargo and the war. During the war, the article being in great demand, manufactories were established, and commenced their operations. At the close of the war, the country was again inundated with India and English coarse cotton cloths. These foreign cloths, meeting those made here in our markets, the market was overstocked, and the goods sold at such reduced prices, that the works in this country were stopped, and the owners, many of them ruined. Congress, however, increased the duty upon this article, for their protection. From the quantity in the market, the effect of this duty was not immediately felt.

But further importations ceased. Under the faith of this protecting duty, however, the cotton mills were again put in operation, and as the manufacturers became better acquainted with their business, and from the competition which ensued among them, the country is abundantly supplied with the article, at a much less price than it was formerly imported. The country is not only supplied, but overflowing the demand at home; it has at this time become a great, if not the best and surest article for exportation which we have. The coarse cotton cloths of this country now have the preference in the South American markets, over the cloths of England made for like purposes; and they bid fair to supplant them in all foreign markets, where the cloths of both countries find admittance and a market.

By protecting the manufacturers of this article for a short time, (who are good customers for our bread-stuffs and provisions,) from

the interference of foreigners, the continual drain of money to England and India, was not only stopped, but it now enables us to import more of the articles, still remaining to be imported, to the full amount of all we export of this. And it is found that we still import of these other articles to the full amount of all we are able to pay for, and the rate of exchange remains very much against us.

While on the subject of the manufacture of cotton, it may be useful to consider the rise and progress of the manufacture of this article in England. Before the English prohibited the importation of cotton goods, they were imported from India, and sold at about one third the cost of making them in England. It was seen, that under such discouragement, her new beginners would be driven out of the market, and probably never become workmen at the trade.—She wisely excluded these foreign cheap goods; secured the home market to her raw hands; and gave them the fullest opportunity to become adepts in the art; the consumers in the mean time paying more than double the price, at which the like goods could be had from abroad. The consequences resulting to England, are, that she is now at the head of that art, while none of the raw material is raised in the kingdom, but every fibre imported from abroad. At this time, or in the year 1823, as appears from a statement in parliament, by Mr. Huskinson, her manufacture of the article, amounted to 54,000,000 pounds sterling, or about 240 millions of dollars—her exports of the article, to 22 millions sterling, or about 98 millions of dollars—the number of families employed in this business, 500,000. Her exports in this article alone, amounting to about double all the domestic exports of this country, including the raw cotton of the southern states.*

Will any one say that the establishment and protection of this branch of manufacture, was purchased too dear by England? It cost a temporary expense to the consumer, of the extra price paid for the home-made, over the imported article. Did her land-holders pay too dear for it? They now derive the benefit of a home market for all the provisions and bread-stuffs to feed, wool to clothe, building materials, &c. to supply a large population which never would have been in existence without it, and exceeding in amount, all the exports of these articles by this country. Did her shipping and importing interests pay too dear for it? Have they not, in consequence of the exports of this article, been able to pay for, and import, more than they could have done without it? Has not the national revenue, from duties on imports, been augmented by the exportation of this 98 millions of dollars worth of cotton goods, and the importation, of course, of a like amount in other articles? It is believed to be evident, that, in every point of view, she has been immensely benefited by it.

Her silk manufactory presents another item of surprising advantage; raised entirely by a like policy to that observed in relation to cotton. The raw materials, also, wholly imported, and costing £1,000,000, or 4,500,000 dollars. Its produce is £10,000,000, or 44,-

* See the Crisis, or a Solemn Appeal to the President and Congress, by M. Carey.

500,000 dollars; leaving \$ 40,000,000 to be divided between the makers and government. The families supported by it, are 40,000.* Does not her landed interest derive great benefits from the supply of these families? Is not England, enabled to import more in consequence of her exportations of manufactured silk goods?—But to contrast the policy of this country with that of England in each particular, would lead me into details which might become tedious. Permit me, however, to say, that the policy of this country, with very few exceptions, is that of encouraging importations of manufactured articles, and of discouraging manufacturers. The consequences, to the substantial interests of the country, are highly pernicious.

Our government, immediately previous to the late war, was unable to procure the six thousand blankets which it owed to the Indians: and during the war the army was every way distressed for the want of blankets and clothing. The whole revenue which we were able to raise, from taxes of all sorts, amounted in that time to but \$ 35,642,488
And by loans at usurious rates, 45,172,581

Total,	\$ 80,815,069†
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The policy of England is directly the reverse of ours.—She discourages the importation of manufactured articles of all kinds, and encourages making them at home. By pursuing this policy steadily, she soon raised the nation to comparative pre-eminence, and so equalized and distributed the capital and labour of the country among all the arts and professions, required in producing the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries, to which her climate is adapted, and wanted in the support of her own, and many other nations, that she meets any exigency without difficulty. She has thereby multiplied the number of her people, and increased her effective means, until she may well defy competition. She closed a war of twenty years, about the same time that our late war with her terminated. In the course of that time, she raised by taxes, the enormous sum of four thousand six hundred and sixty-three millions of dollars; and two thousand three hundred and ninety-three millions of dollars, by loans; making together, seven thousand and thirty-eight millions of dollars;‡ and with much less financial distress, than we experienced in our short war with her. England has, moreover, since the war, remitted taxes, which produced \$ 28,237,500 annually, and has established a sinking fund of \$ 22,500,000.§ She has but to avoid, in future, unnecessary wars, to discharge a debt, once thought to be so enormously large, as to be wholly impracticable.

Although as a general rule, the exportations of all countries are made with the sole view of importing other articles; and that no country would, or does export articles of value, without receiving in return, value of some sort; and that this value usually consists of commodities, on which there may be, and usually are duties imposed and paid to government; still a particular country may be so far in advance of all, or many others, in regard to the arts, sciences, trades.

* Idem.

† Idem.

‡ Idem.

§ Idem.

and professions required for producing, manufacturing, and transporting all the articles of necessity, comfort, and luxury of the world, that she will not only pay for, and import, all the articles required in the support of that country, to the growth or fabrication of which her climate is not adapted; but by way of return values for her exports, shall receive the public securities or stocks of foreign governments. And this I take to be the situation of England at this time. That nation not only pays for, and imports, an immense quantity of foreign articles, with its manufactures, but has accumulated the public securities, or stocks of foreign governments, it is said, to the amount of nearly two hundred million of pounds sterling; and she is notoriously a large holder in the stocks of this country.

The question, as it relates to this country, is, shall we profit from the example of England? That we may do so under advantages and prospects altogether more favourable, and to greater effect than England ever did, is most certain. To arrive at the same point of elevation, and that comparatively soon, we have only to adopt the measures which England did, and to avoid her unnecessary wars.

Great Britain, had she adopted her present course of measures at an earlier day, in relation to her manufactures and trade, and avoided unnecessary wars, might probably have attained to her present elevated condition, in any one of the centuries since the thirteenth.

It is maintained that our population is not sufficiently numerous, to commence manufacturing; that we have not the hands to spare from other more profitable and healthful employments; that if we had, this surplus population would take to manufactures as a matter of course.

It may be remarked that this objection is usually made, wherever manufactures are not extensively carried on. It was so in some of the old countries. It is so at this time in Poland; in this and many other countries; and will probably be so in every country, until manufactures are commenced in that country.

The labourers of this country are mostly confined to the land, from which many might be beneficially withdrawn; for they are earning but very little there. But they have not the necessary knowledge of any other calling; and those who have grown old in labours upon the land, cannot easily be taught a new trade: nor is it believed to be necessary, or desirable that they should be. / Manufactures, if they can find protection, will be carried on, and supplied with hands, who will come to us already taught, from the countries from which we have obtained our manufactured articles, or be made from the younger and growing population of this country,—By giving to the younger and growing population, business at home, we shall prevent them from strolling into Canada or Michigan, in search of new places of residence; and the strength and wealth of the old settled states will be augmented by retaining them, and giving them opportunities, as artisans, of obtaining comfortable livings.

In our rage for growing bread-stuffs and provisions for foreign markets, nearly all the lands in this state, of a good quality, with much of the poorer grades, have been settled. The canals, which have, to an incalculable extent, advanced the general wealth of the state,

have, with the benefits conferred, furnished a cheap and expeditious means of getting out of it : and we may calculate that this means of getting out of the state into others, or into Canada, will be improved to a very great extent, by many, who find themselves without employments affording some prospect of profit, and the canals thereby, and to that extent, become a mean of lessening, instead of augmenting, our numbers, as was expected.

But it is believed that hands could easily be obtained, without difficulty or prejudice to any other branch of business. They would, like all other apprentices, the most of them be unlearned, it is admitted. We did not feel the loss of the hands, nor of the capital, which was drawn into the cotton manufactories. Hands, employed as manufacturers, are not of the description of labourers deemed most profitable at out door work. Seven-tenths of the hands employed in our cotton mills, would have earned little or nothing, but at some such employment. It may be furthermore remarked, that, at the commencement of manufactures in most countries, there is a seeming want of hands ; but if manufactories had not been established, the hands employed in them might not have been in existence.

By establishing manufactories, you enable the hands, required to work them, to accumulate to an extent which they never could have done but for their establishment. The population of England must have remained vastly less, and that of Flanders, much greater, had England been content to continue her former practice of sending her wool to Flanders, there to be worked into cloths, and the cloths sent back to England, in exchange for more wool. The population of England has, no doubt, been vastly enlarged, by changing this policy. Retaining her wool, and refusing to receive cloths from abroad, the artizans of Flanders had less to do ; but it made room, and gave employment for artizans in England ; to which the artizans of Flanders, and other parts of the continent, found their way ; or they were soon raised in England to the required number. By adopting the same policy, we shall find that a like cause will produce the same effect in this country. This change in the policy of England, may have occasioned some dissatisfaction at first.—The persons by whose agency the former intercourse had been conducted, may have apprehended the loss of their business, and the gentry may have been dissatisfied at paying, for a short time, enhanced prices for less fashionable goods ; but it raised England to an elevation in wealth, strength, and political and civil consideration, to which she never could have attained, without that change in her policy. She soon found that her number of people ; her internal and external trade ; the style of cultivating, and the rent of her land ; and, above all, the revenue derived from her importations from abroad, were greatly increased and enlarged, and are still found to go on increasing. She had to grope her way to wealth and eminence, without the aid of the numerous precedents and examples, which, by the history of her rise, and that of other countries, are now afforded to us. She made some errors in her progress, which, by these lights, we may avoid. It is worthy of remark, however, that her statesmen never for a moment thought of following the plausible theories of the Adam Smiths, and M. Says, of the day.

They looked to the practical operations and results of measures. When they found them prejudicial, they changed them; and left the speculations of these gentlemen to be studied and followed by us, and such other nations as thought proper to follow them, to the benefit of England, and to their own individual ruin.

Had the double duties imposed during the late war, remained upon those articles of which we had commenced the manufacture, the slaughter which took place among the sheep in 1818, 19, and 20, would never have happened. Our hills at this time would have been covered with sheep; extensive manufactories of woollen and cotton goods would have been in operation, with probably many others—the prices, like those of coarse cotton cloths, would at this time have been as low, or lower, than the imported—there would now be many articles, upon which the farmer might rely for money to pay his taxes and other demands.

If we had been permitted to supply the southern states with Negro cloths, in exchange for their cotton, it would have afforded some relief to the farmer, who would have furnished the wool and provisions required for their manufacture, and placed them nearer on a level with their brethren, the cotton-growers. But, withdrawing the shield of government in those double duties, and thereby placing our new-begginners in competition with the larger capitals and better learned artizans of England, they were broken down. For want of such protection, as shall inspire full confidence in the manufacture of woollen cloths, another defeat of the wool-growing business may be apprehended. England having the artizans for converting foreign wool into articles of the most approved fashion, has thereby the means of throwing foreign wool into our markets, to the exclusion of our own, in a shape so acceptable to the tastes of our people, as to insure its being taken in preference to that raised here: and the same may be said of many other articles. The farmer is, moreover, for want of that protection and encouragement to the required artizans, deprived of many, and the most profitable applications of his land and labour, and compelled to drudge on in the old track, in poverty.

The mechanic arts are not only the handmaids of agriculture, and its principal support, but they are powerful auxiliaries to each other, and to the pursuits of science generally.

Encouragement to the introduction from abroad, or growth within the country, of a population for the purpose of converting raw materials into manufactured articles, and making home markets for the consumption of agricultural productions; and this by duties on, or prohibitions of, foreign goods, is further objected to, on the ground of policy; and the writers before mentioned, Smith and M. Say, are cited as authorities. It is maintained by foreign commercial agents in this country—by our importing merchants—by the shipping interest generally, and the cotton-growers of the south, that the prevailing opinion in England; and the acts of the English government are in accordance with the theories of these gentlemen—that the English are doing away their protection to manufactures and trade, as far, and as fast as practicable—that they have finally become convinced that their protection, by way of prohibitions, bounties and duties, have

been of more injury than benefit to them—that their manufactures and trade have arrived to their unexampled state of prosperity, not by the aid, but in despite of these regulations. The books of these gentlemen are in the hands of almost every body; still it may be well very briefly to state their leading theories, and to inquire how far the allegations, that England has become sick of her protections and restraints, is founded in fact. To do this, however, within any thing like reasonable bounds, but little more can be said than to state facts and refer to authorities.

The leading principles of these gentlemen, are claimed to be based upon the natural progress of man from the savage to the most civilized state. That men at first subsist by hunting, fishing, and on natural productions, without labour: from that state they pass to that of shepherds or herdsmen; from that to the division and cultivation of land: after which, manufactures are commenced as a distinct profession. When the cultivation of the land and manufactures are filled with capital and labour to overflowing, the next branch of business to be taken up is that of external commerce, with navigation. The next in succession, is that of carrying the productions of one foreign country to that of another. After all these several branches of business are overdone, then emigration and the establishment of foreign colonies commence: internal commerce being incidental to every stage. Another maxim of the authors above referred to, is, *that the patronage and protection of government, should never be extended to any one branch of business over that of another, nor to the labour, ingenuity, or enterprise of the citizen or subject, over that of the foreigner; but that all, as well citizens as foreigners, should possess equal rights, and purchase where they can cheapest, and sell where they can dearest, without duties or impediments.**

The English nation, with some temporary exceptions, practised for a long time, in the early part of their history, nearly upon these principles; giving sometimes to the stranger, and sometimes to the subject, the advantage; and, like all other nations which still continue that practice, were poor; depending upon foreigners for manufactured articles, and for markets for their raw materials. Their numbers were comparatively few; their lands were badly cultivated, and unproductive; their foreign commerce and revenue from duties on imported articles, insignificant. But the English, disregarding theories like those just mentioned, changed this policy. From time to time, they prohibited positively, or, virtually, by high duties, one list of manufactured articles after another, until the chief of them were virtually excluded. They put in operation their celebrated navigation act; protected their manufactures, shipping interest and trade, from the interference of foreigners; and thereby drew into, or raised in their country, their existing overpowering stock of artizans and seamen; made good and certain home markets for all their raw ma-

* The maxims of these writers allow of some very few exceptions to this rule; but they are so limited and qualified, as not to alter the general principle.—Their theories, in other respects, are not complained of; but in this, they are in direct opposition to the policy which has given to the manufacturing and commercial nations of Europe, their present ascendancy, and which is indispensable to the prosperity of this country.

terials and agricultural productions ; and raised their revenue, shipping, mercantile and landed interests, far above those of any other country.

It is somewhat remarkable that our first congress disregarded the order of time, in which the several professions should naturally, according to the foregoing theories, rise and succeed each other. They passed over manufactures, with but a slight notice in the preamble of a bill, and determined that the country, whether it had any thing else or not, should have a competent stock of ships and seamen ; and to that end, and looking to foreign countries for markets for agricultural productions, and for a supply of manufactured articles, gave to the shipping interest a powerful protection, which, with favourable incidental circumstances, raised it to its present state of prosperity.

As the fact of protection to the shipping interest of this country is notorious, and only incidentally mentioned here, it is not deemed necessary to cite all the particular incidents in which, to maintain its just rights, the landed interest has suffered. The dispute, however, with England, whether the ships of this country, should, on equal terms with their own, transport plaster from, and rye and Indian corn to Nova Scotia ; and rum and molasses from, and corn, flour, and lumber to, the West Indies, was mainly the cause of the extreme depression of flour, in the years 1820 and 21. England was willing to take our Indian meal and flour in their own ships, to feed their Negroes and fishermen, but not if taken in ours. Congress, to maintain the just rights of our shipping, refused to let these articles be taken out of the country, if to be transported in English ships exclusively to their provinces ; but would permit them to be taken, to be transported in the ships of the two nations, without preference to either. The articles could not be sold unless taken in one or the other, and whether taken in the one or the other, it was immaterial to the landed interest ; but pending the dispute, these articles remained on hand, and fell below any former price since the revolution. England, in the course of the dispute, granted permission to our vessels to take them to England, there to be warehoused, until their vessels found it convenient to take them to the West Indies ; *but would not suffer that part of the flour which soured in their warehouses, to be used as sizing for the muslins and calicoes which they were making for our markets, and which, with their other manufactures, we have continued to take from them,* until, having nothing else which they would take in payment, they have drawn from us a large proportion of our public stocks as remittances for these articles. But to return.

Anderson's History of Commerce, in 6 volumes, McPherson's Annals of Commerce, Holt's Administration of the Affairs of Great Britain and Ireland, and Howe's present state of England, are referred to, for the particular incidents of protection granted by the British government to the manufactures and trade of that country, from the 11th century to the present time, and for the improvements and benefits derived thereby, to the landed interest and revenue of that country, and in support of the policy which it is advisable for this country to adopt.

Pope's British Customs, will show what were the regulations of

trade, prohibitions and duties at, and for some time before the year 1819. In that year, very extensive modifications of duties and prohibitions were made. These, with subsequent alterations, and amounting altogether, nearly to an entire new code, have been procured by our Secretary of State, and reported to Congress at its present session, and officially published. They occupy 287 octavo pages, and show what the English regulations of trade are, to a late period. It becomes impracticable to state the particular provisions, but they show most conclusively, that there is no disposition existing in the British government towards relaxation; but, on the contrary, a most cautious and rigid attention to maintain her system is evinced. The number of articles permitted to be imported, has been increased: but every manufactured article, of which there are a few, is subjected to such excessive duties, as to render the admission nearly nominal.* No person, after examining this document, can pretend that there exists the smallest appearance of relaxation in the British government, and will attribute the fallacious representations of a disposition to do so, to the cupidity of British commercial agents in this country, or to self interested motives in other persons. That there are, however, in England and elsewhere, many persons of the opinion that the time has arrived, when it would be good policy in England, to do away those restrictions and protections, there is no doubt; and to open a free unrestrained trade with every other nation which would in like manner take away all restraints, protections and preferences, and open an unrestrained free trade with her. Protections to manufactures and trade, could, to all appearance, be better dispensed with by England, than by any other nation. What has England to fear in her own markets from a competition with foreign manufactures? Such is the immense advantage which she derives from having domesticated and combined within the nation, all the arts, with ablest artizans in abundance, and with the best tools, labour-saving machines, and fixtures adapted to every purpose, in every known art, and manufacture, that it would seem to be evident, that she has nothing to fear in her own markets, from the artizans and manufacturers of any other people.

Nations, which, like us, have not the necessary knowledge of the arts for manufacturing, nor the artizans; to obtain them, must do as England did; that is, give them substantial and efficient protection; but when once obtained, the nation which possesses them, may remain fearless of competition. But it may possibly be the case, that England, before long, will come out with a proposition, to admit our bread-stuffs and provisions, our lumber, and every thing which we may think proper to send her, on condition that we continue to take her manufactured articles in return. If so, and the proposition should be accepted by our government, it ought to be looked upon as a great calamity. We may then abandon all hopes of an efficient home market for agricultural productions. In fine, we may make up our minds to remain forever poor; with our lands badly tilled, and revenue from duties small.

* See Note B, page 30:

The West India and Nova Scotia dispute, terminated in an accommodation of this kind, in relation to the shipping of the respective countries.* But it should be recollected, that navigation forms but a single item: our people had become thoroughly acquainted with the art, and largely extended in it, before the accommodation took place. It is not so with manufactures: many of them are not understood; and whoever calculates upon their rise for a long time, without powerful protection, will be disappointed. But the farming interest, who constitute a great majority in this country, have only to say the word, and their representatives in Congress will adopt measures which shall soon give them manufactories and safe home markets for all their productions.

Protection to manufactures is further objected to, on the ground that congress is not authorised by the constitution to give that protection, by increased duties or prohibitions; nor to cherish and elevate one branch, where that elevation or protection may prejudice another branch of business; and more particularly, where it may prejudice the shipping and importing branches, already established, and in successful prosecution.

To these objections, it may be replied, that, whether the powers in question have, or have not been delegated to congress, that body have uniformly exercised them for every purpose, deemed necessary in promoting the public welfare. The power has unquestionably been given to congress, "to lay and collect taxes, and to establish imposts; to regulate the trade with foreign powers, among the several states, and with the Indian tribes." Another important function conferred upon congress, is, "to provide for the public defence, and for the general welfare."

These powers are applied at the discretion of congress, and include, not only the power required to be exercised in this particular case, but it is believed to be imposed upon that body as a duty, to protect and promote the rights and interests of their own country, and each, and every class, section and individual, against the aggressions and cupidity of foreigners, and to regulate the whole concern, in such manner as to produce the greatest practicable benefit to their constituents.

This will appear to have been the intention of the framers of the constitution, as well from the exposition given of those powers, at, and about the time of the adoption of that instrument, as from the early practice of that government under it, in the imposition of discriminating duties, favourable to the ships and shipping interests of this country; granting bounties to fishing vessels; prohibiting all trade from this country, to some others, in foreign vessels. The tonnage on vessels, and duties payable on goods, were all so arranged and imposed by congress, and that, directly after the adoption of the constitution, as to induce shipments in the vessels of this country, in preference to any other, and at a time also, when the country had but a very few seamen and vessels.—By such means, congress cherished and elevated the ships and shipping interests of this country, to their present exalted standing.

* See Note C, page 31.

As a further evidence, however, of the clear understanding of the framers of the constitution, as to the powers vested in congress, in relation to the protection of manufactures, the first congress, (who were many of them members of the convention which framed the constitution,) in the preamble to the first act passed by congress, imposing duties on imported articles, the protection of manufactures is stated as one of the inducements to that measure. "Whereas it is necessary, for the support of government; for the discharge of the debts of the United States; and *for the protection and encouragement of manufactures,*" &c.

The framers of the constitution and members of the first congress, must be presumed to be better able to determine what were the powers intended to be vested in congress, than the younger commentators of the present day.

The great preference compelled and enforced by congress, to be given to the ships and shipping interests of this country, for a time bore hard upon the farming or landed interest. It was not complained of, however, except by the southern states, which owned no ships, and never expected to own any. The consequences from this forced preference to the ships of this country, has resulted in raising up within it, a stock of mariners, ships, ship-builders, sail-makers, capital, and shipping concern, such as is hardly to be found in any other. The institution was at considerable, but temporary expense to the country. We had to pay higher duties, or ship in the vessels of our own country, at higher freights. Our number of vessels and seamen was very small, and, but for the preference given by congress to the temporary prejudice of the landed interest, the number of ships and mariners might have remained small to this day. But the benefits soon resulting to the country, greatly exceeded the incipient expense. Ships and seamen multiplied; a strong competition ensued, which reduced freights and charges of all kinds, to the lowest possible grade. It proves, in every point of view, a great benefit to the country, in seeking for markets for its productions, and by carrying them, at the cheapest rates, into every part of the world, where they can find admittance and a market.

When congress first determined that this branch of business should be established in this country, and to that end gave it the required protection, there was not only an ostensible, but an absolute want of hands to carry it on. Our vessels having the preference, those of other nations had less to do. Their sailors having less to do in their own vessels, sought for, and found employment in ours, in the same manner as their cloth-makers would now find employment in our work-shops, if congress should, by like protecting duties, cause a preference over those of all other countries, to be given to cloths made in this country, from the wool of our own sheep, and by artizans who should, while making them, give our own farmers the benefit of a home market, for the provisions and bread-stuffs required for their support. The English could not resort to our work-shops, to get back their cloth-makers, as they did to our ships, to reclaim their seamen; which, more than any thing else, brought on the late war, and thereby, incidentally, brought an expense on the country of many millions. But it

has now become evident that congress consulted the best interests of the country, by instituting, and protecting this branch of national wealth and industry, at any hazard, and at any given expense. The objection, therefore, to giving protection to manufactures, comes with an ill grace from the ship owners, who, from a like protection to their ships, have become rich.

The southern or cotton, sugar and tobacco-growing states, complained as loudly against the protection given to the shipping interests, as they now do of the required protection to manufactures. It is remarkable that they never complained at the exercise of that power by congress, when applied to secure the home demand for the articles of their chief dependence. But the exercise of this power by congress, long since produced the desired effect, as well upon the shipping interest, as upon the growing of cotton, sugar and tobacco. It has not only encouraged the improvement of their lands, and secured to them the home market, but it has enabled these interests to supply foreign demand to a great extent. They may now all tell us that the congressional protection is of no use to them. The coarse cotton cloth-makers may say the same as it relates to that article.—They have not only secured the home-market, but considerable foreign demand, by the effect of congressional protection: but the fine cotton fabrics, woollen and hempen goods, still require further protection. That the protection now provided for the articles last mentioned, has not produced the effect which it has done for the shipping, the cotton, sugar, and tobacco-growing interests, is evident from the large quantities which are still imported; and nothing more is requested than that it shall be increased until it has produced that effect.

The chief agricultural articles for which there appears to be an efficient foreign demand, are cotton, tobacco, naval stores and rice; to the growth of which the climate of the middle and eastern states is not adapted, and they are left without any commanding article for exportation. We have continued our ancient practice of raising bread-stuffs and provisions, in the confident expectation of foreign demand for them, in exchange for woollen cloths and other manufactured articles, until, upon their being refused in exchange, we find ourselves suddenly reduced to poverty. The remedy is obvious. Shut out the manufactured articles, or commence upon that plan, and from time to time progress upon it. Give assurance to the adventurers in manufactures, that their investments shall not be sacrificed: and we shall very soon create home markets for all the raw materials and productions of our land, and find ourselves supplied with manufactured articles, upon better terms than they are now imported. The cotton-growers will thereby secure to themselves an enlarged home market, where they may be under no apprehensions of being supplanted by Egyptian competition, or by wars.

The acts of England, in refusing to take the agricultural productions of the middle and eastern states in exchange for her manufactures, ought to be considered by us in the light of friendly and paternal admonitions. These acts may reasonably be construed as saying to us, "you are of age; you have left the family; make your own clothing; your welfare demands it of us to compel you to do it;

you are capacitated by God and by nature to become a great and powerful people, and to extend the language, the religion, the laws, customs and manners of England over immense regions; and even to exceed the mother country in these respects; but you never can arrive to that state, until you acquire and domesticate the mechanic arts, upon which that elevated station is mainly dependent. Europe has millions of artizans who would flock to your shores; add to your numbers; and teach your rising population the necessary arts, if you would give them protection, until they have firmly established themselves among you. You have the history of our rise; avoid our errors and unnecessary wars; exclude foreign manufactures; and you will soon have the necessary stock of artizans, and a home market for all your agricultural productions."

I should consider it a great misfortune, if England should withdraw this admonitory advice, and again admit our bread-stuffs, provisions and raw materials. It would have a tendency to prevent us, for a long time, from rising to that solid and permanent elevation to which, by her policy, we are now fast approaching, and to which we may very soon attain by proper management. We want, in addition to the obstructions which she throws in the way of importations, such further obstructions raised by our government, as shall create the fullest confidence in manufacturing undertakings in this country. That done, we shall soon draw into the country a great addition to our present population, not of the description of mere ditch-diggers, but of intelligent artizans. The inducements to emigrations of this description, would probably be greater than any which the settlement of new lands has ever held out.

The importing merchants, of all others, ought not to complain of the measures proposed. If they lose the importing profit on the particular article for which protection is asked, they, together with the shipping merchants, will find an abundant compensation from the increased quantities of commodities still remaining to be imported. The importers will find, moreover, that most of the articles proposed to be made in this country, must still pass through their hands. A large proportion of the coarse cotton cloths now made in this state, are sent to the city of New York, in the first place; from thence they are distributed through the country in parcels to suit customers, or pass through the hands of shipping merchants to foreign markets. Our rent-receiving men will find their interests promoted by these measures, as thereby their rents will be increased or maintained. Our interest and dividend-receiving men will find better employments for their capitals; the salaries and fees of our officers of government and professional men will be better paid, and every description of persons will have the gratification of beholding the general prosperity of the country.

It is maintained by some of the oldest and most forward manufacturers, whose establishments had their rise in the early stages of the embargo, that manufactures do not require further protection in this country.

It is with difficulty this opinion can be reconciled with pure inten-

tions. In the absence of all necessary proof, we are led to attribute it to the overbearing influence of self-interested motives.

The manufacturer who has once passed the initiatory state, had rather encounter foreign competition in his particular branch, with the existing duties and charges against the foreigner, than the competition which he is sure must arise in this country, if the necessary protection to new adventurers is granted, which competition he well knows never can arise without that protection.

Apprehensions are entertained in the southern states and elsewhere, that if we manufacture for ourselves, we shall excite the displeasure of England, and that to retaliate, she will exclude the raw cotton and tobacco of this country.

England understands her interest too well to exclude an article of so much importance to her as cotton. She well knows, that, by excluding it, she would advance our manufactures and injure her own. She will avoid any measures which will reduce the price of that article in this country or in France, or any other country, much below what it is in England; and the price would be as much lower in this and every other country, than in England, as all the duty, or discouragement which she imposed on it, would amount to, and a correspondent disadvantage to her manufacturers.—She has a deep interest at stake, and will continue to receive cotton from this and every other country where she can obtain it cheapest.

Manufactures are objected to, as having a tendency to debase and demoralize the community, to increase criminality, and the number of paupers.

There exists no natural cause for that result. On the contrary, as they give employment to a greater variety of people, by enlarging the number of lawful and innocent pursuits, the natural tendency must be to improve the habits of the people to virtue. That opinion, however, is not a new one. It was insisted upon in England until it led to investigation. On comparing three of the most manufacturing counties with three others, mainly employed in agriculture, it was found that the agricultural counties, in proportion to the number of people, exceeded the manufacturing counties in paupers, 100 per cent.—in criminal cases, 60, and in poor rates, 150 per cent. Colquhoun on Indigence, p. 272, declares that, “contrary to the generally received opinion, the number of paupers in those counties chiefly agricultural, greatly exceeds those where manufactures prevail.”

Commerce, without manufactures, may be productive of the evil consequences predicted; but manufactures have the opposite tendency. They keep every body at work, and, of course, out of mischief. But it would be a useless waste of time and of words, to attempt to refute or treat seriously, all the frivolous objections to the introduction and proper protection of manufactures.

GENTLEMEN—

The measures hitherto pursued by the Board of Agriculture and Agricultural Societies, may have been productive of benefits equivalent to the expense and attention which has been paid to them. But whether they have or not, from the circumstance of their distribution

through the state, they are well calculated for prosecuting investigations in relation to the benefits which may flow to the landed interest, from the introduction or growth within the state, of a manufacturing population, commensurate with the wants of the community. That the benefits would be great to the landed interest, the universal experience of all countries has demonstrated. Markets for agricultural produce, at fair remunerating prices, are required by the landed interest, rather than a more perfect knowledge of the art of raising it, or enlarged quantities for which there is no market. The agricultural societies may have improved the art of raising landed productions, and thereby may have contributed somewhat towards increasing the quantity. Without abandoning their duty in that respect, it is believed that they would, to a much greater extent, promote the landed interest, by endeavouring to provide home markets for the sale of landed produce, than by their endeavours to have larger quantities raised, while there is no efficient demand for it.

Foreign commerce, from the causes already noticed, is incapable of providing markets for agricultural produce. We are to look for home markets: and these, like every thing else, may be improved, or may be made. By adopting means adequate to the object, we shall acquire them.

We now import from abroad and consume more than thirty-one millions of dollars worth of manufactured articles, and the consumption would be three times that amount if they could be obtained for the produce of the land at fair equivalent values.

Give to manufacturers protection, and they will come to us from abroad. Give to artisans protection, and they will increase from our present population. Obtain the adequate number, and their consumption of agricultural produce will be immense, and much greater than any quantity which we have ever exported. Give to the manufacturers of other articles the protection which has been given to the coarse cotton cloth-makers, and we shall soon have the required number of artisans, and home markets for all our agricultural productions.

It may be asked, what can the board of agriculture or the societies do towards effecting measures of such magnitude, opposed by long standing opinions, habits, and interests? It may be answered, that both directly and indirectly, they may do much. Information relative to arts, processes and trades, may be elicited, collected, and distributed. The natural advantages of the country for manufacturing, may be communicated to foreign countries, and to foreign adventurers disposed to settle here. Strangers may be advised and directed to advantageous locations. But they may probably, more than in any other way, be useful, by inculcating correct principles and views through the community, as to the true interests of the country, in relation to these subjects—for it may be recollected that public opinion, although fluctuating, carries every thing before it. It is the pioneer to almost every public measure.

The board of agriculture and the societies, have first to settle upon what are the measures which may be beneficially and safely adopted. They may search for facts and precedents to illustrate the propriety of those measures. They may support and give effect to the mea-

asures of government, tending to the furtherance of the main object, wherever the influence of their opinions may be extended. The board of agriculture will become the centre for interchanging opinions, views, and information, as to the operation of measures which may have been adopted, and what further measures are required.

It may be useful at this time to compare opinions, as to the articles, the future importation of which should be prohibited, or on which, heavier duties should be imposed.—All these matters invite the most deliberate consideration of the board.

The articles of beer, ale, and porter; cheese, candles, and tallow, in my opinion, ought strictly to be prohibited.

To inspire adventurers in the manufacture of articles made of wool, with the necessary confidence, it is deemed to be proper that progressive annual additions should be made to the existing tariff; and the same as to the finer cotton fabrics, and to articles made of hemp, and perhaps iron. Building-slate is another article which this country is capable of supplying to the full extent of the home demand, and at prices not exceeding the cost of that article, when the quantity brought from abroad, was not met in our markets, by slate made in this country. It is usually brought to this country as ballast; and did sell, and would now sell, above the present prices, if there should be none made here. But being brought rather as ballast, than as freight, it is sometimes very much below even the price paid for it abroad. Our slate-makers are then driven from the market, and their works stopped. Their quarries get filled up with rubbish and water, the buildings and fixtures go to decay, and even importations become more limited for want of sale. The market gradually improves to a price, at which slate may be again made; but on looking round for hands, it is found the work-people have gone off, some in one direction, and some in other; some to Michigan, and elsewhere, and perhaps an entire new set are to be taught the trade, the works cleared out, and every thing commenced anew; and when, perhaps, fairly under way, in comes another, or numerous other parcels from abroad; the price declines immensely, and our works are again stopped.

These frequent fluctuations of prices drive our men from this branch of business; well knowing that, if undertaken, they have no security against those surfeits from abroad. It would seem to be evidently proper, to protect our slate makers, when it can be done without prejudice to the consumers. There can be no doubt but that they could and would supply the market at the average prices which the article would cost the consumers, if there were none to be made here; and it is highly probable that a competition among them would reduce the price to much less.

To effect this object, let the average price of slate in this country, be found from, say 1790 to 1800, when the article was nearly all of it brought from abroad: and let it be enacted, that no foreign slate should be brought in, when the average price, for the three preceding months, was below that price, but admit it when above, until it again declined below that price. By adopting this rule, and trusting to the competition among the slate-makers of this country, it may reasonably be expected, that the cost of this article will be reduced to the lowest

practicable price, and probably much lower than it ever will be, while the existing fluctuations and discouragements are perpetuated.

GENTLEMEN—

The policy and measures contended for, have intrinsic merit, and must ultimately prevail. They are founded on the maxims and policy of the most prosperous nations of Europe. They come to us with the recommendation of their ablest statesmen. Either the policy pursued by those nations or ours, is radically wrong. The governments, which have for any length of time conformed to these maxims, have become rich. Under ours, we have become poor, and the consequences of a reverse of their policy, may be seen in the poverty of all the nations who have neglected their admonitions; among others, we may name Spain, Portugal, Poland, and our own.

Some nations have the misfortune to labour under disabilities, which may forever keep them in the back ground. Their forms of government may be defective—the freedom of the citizen may be limited—property may be insecure—the geographical or physical condition of the country may be unfavourable. In this country, we are opposed by none of these difficulties. Our country is rich in natural productions—with an extensive sea-coast—good harbours—navigable rivers, with innumerable water-falls; and is making rapid advances in artificial canals. Our climate is temperate and salubrious,—property secure—the government, and all its measures, are determined by public opinion, as they ought to be. But, in common with many other countries, *we entertain prejudices which are fostered by the agents of foreign commerce, and individual interests.* A great majority of us are, from education and habit, agricultural. But that class, from their peculiar situation, will be led to the investigation of these subjects. They will not much longer remain the dupes of cupidity. They will soon entertain feelings more friendly to manufactures, and demand the attention of their representatives in congress, to regulate all these matters in such manner as to promote their true interests.

NOTE A.—Page 5.

In the export of domestic articles, upon which the landed interest mainly depends, it may be useful to compare latter, with former years. As far back as the year 1790, there were exported,

Of flour in that year, - - - - -	724,623 bbls.
Of wheat, 1,124,456 bushels, equal to bbls. of flour, - -	224,891
	949,514 bbls.

In 1823, there were exported,

Of flour, - - - - -	756,246 bbls.
Of wheat, 4272 bushels, equal to - -	855
	751,101
Excess of 1790, over 1823, - - - - -	192,413 bbls.

Indian corn exported in 1790 - - - - -	2,102,137 bush.
The same in 1823, - - - - -	749,034

Excess of 1790, over 1823, - - - - - 1,353,103 bush.

There is also about a proportionate decline in nearly every other article of produce, excepting in the articles of cotton and tobacco. The latter has remained nearly stationary; but cotton has advanced from a mere trifle, to more than \$ 20,000,000. In 1790, the population was less than 4,000,000; in 1823, it was probably 10,500,000. The exports of domestic articles, were not kept separately from exports of foreign articles, until 1796. In that year, distinct accounts of each were commenced, and have been continued.

In 1796, the aggregate export of domestic articles was -	\$ 40,764,097
Of which the proportion of cotton was 6,108,729 lbs. and of value, about - - - - -	1,500,000

Leaving for bread-stuffs, provisions, tobacco, and all other articles, 39,264,097	
In 1823, the exports of domestic articles, were 47,155,408	
Of which, there was of cotton, - - - - -	20,445,520
Leaving of bread-stuffs, provisions, tobacco, and all other articles, but - - - - -	26,709,888

And a diminution, falling wholly on the grain and tobacco growing states, of - - - - - 12,554,209*

In the mean time, from 1796 to 1823 the population had increased, from about 4,750,000, to, say, 10,500,000; with probably about a like increase in the quantity of land brought into cultivation; and some, but no very considerable advance towards manufactures; and no material alteration in the pursuits of the people. By extending the calculations, it will be found, that the exports of domestic articles, apportioned to the population, has, in the cotton growing states, advanced; but with the bread-stuff, provision, and tobacco growing states, they have diminished from \$ 8 20 cts. to each person, which it was, or thereabouts, in 1796, to \$ 2 71 cts. per head, in 1823.† By excluding the tobacco growing states, the proportion would probably be reduced to less than \$ 2 per head, even including domestic manufactures, of which, coarse cotton cloths must be considerable, though the exact proportion of these is not known.

The following table will show the decline in the quantity and value of flour, exported from 1817, to 1823, both years inclusive:

	<i>Flour.</i>	<i>Value</i>
1817	barrels, 1,479,198	\$ 17,751,376
1818	" 1,157,697	11,576,917
1819	" 750,660	6,005,280
1820	" 1,177,036	5,296,664
1821	" 1,056,119	4,298,043
1822	" 827,265	5,103,280
1823	" 756,246	5,905,195‡

NOTE B.—Page 21.

By the British corn law of 1815, wheat was not allowed to be imported, when the average price was below 80s. sterling per quarter of 8 Winchester bushels, or \$ 2 22 cents per bushel. The law of 1815 has been repealed, and wheat may now be imported when the average price shall be 70s. per quarter, subject to the payment of a duty of 17s. per quarter for the first three months; after that, to 12s.

Wheat is admitted from Canada when the average price is 59s. subject to the same duties as foreign corn.

Before 1819, according to Pope's British customs, woollen cloths were per-

* See M. Carey's Crisis. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

mitted to be imported, on the payment of the permanent duties of £ 1. 14 shillings, equal to \$ 7 55 cents per yard, for cloths of all descriptions:—to which had been added, during the late war $\frac{1}{3}$, 8 $\frac{1}{4}$.

By the tariff of 1819, they are allowed to be imported, on payment of 50 per cent. duty, on the market value.

Articles made of leather, before 1819, were admitted on the payment of 142 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty:—after 1819, they were admitted on payment of 75 per cent. duties.

By the tariff of 1819, or present tariff, linens are admitted—

Plain linen, on payment of duties £ 76.13.4 on every £ 100 of market value.

If checked, dyed or striped, on every £ 100 of the market value, £ 172.10.

Sailcloth or duck, £ 5.07.4, equal to \$ 23 85 cents, to £ 9.07.00, equal to \$ 40 30 cents for 120 elis.

Of the few manufactured articles admitted, the duties are rarely less than 50 per cent., and from that to 150.

Cotton goods, of which there are some not prohibited, pay duties of from 50 to 75 per cent.

Of earthenware, there are some kinds not prohibited, which pay duties of 75 per cent.

Glass plates, 80 per cent.

Hides, tanned or tawed, 75 per cent.

Paintings on glass, 80 per cent. exclusive of excise, £ 6.06.*

But these duties must be merely nominal, because no person would think of sending manufactured articles to England, even if there were no duties charged on them.

On the few articles which are, or can be sent to England, from the middle or northern states, their existing duties are enormous.

Potash, \$ 2 48 cents per cwt. - - - - or 40 per cent.

Barrel staves, per 1000 \$ 16 33 - - - - " 68 "

Hogshead staves, " 32 06 - - - - " 88 "

Pipe staves, " 44 44 - - - - " 90 "

Tobacco, 4s. sterling per lb. equal to 88 cents per lb. or 1400 per cent.

Bacon or hams, £ 2 16 sterling, or \$ 12 43 per cwt.

Butter, per cwt. £ 1 05, or \$ 5 55 per cwt.†

The sterling is stated in dollars and cents, as this denomination, being our own currency, is easier apprehended.§

NOTE C.—Page 22.

See the acts of Congress of 18th of April 1818, and 15th of May 1820. The British did not accede to the claims of Congress in behalf of our shipping, until June 1822. In the mean time, their West India colonies, and the farmers of this country, suffered severely. Wheat fell to 70 cents per bushel in 1821. The loss on this and many other articles, to the landed interest, was immense. Congress is, notwithstanding, entitled to the highest commendation for protecting and defending the rights of the shipping interest, let the loss or the cost of that protection affect whoever it might: and it is to be lamented that Congress delay extending a like protection to the farming interest, through the medium of manufactures. Losses of this kind are only temporary. To have submitted, would have been as degrading as was the proposition to suspend the non-intercourse law in 1812, so far as to admit of the importation from England of blankets and trinkets, for the purpose of pacifying or propitiating the Indians.—It is, moreover, remarkable, that the abandonment of this monopoly, wrung from the British government by the severest sufferings of their colonies, and conceded with so ill a grace, has been extolled and trumpeted through this country by her agents and satellites, as evidence of a liberal disposition in the British government to abandon their prohibitory system altogether.‡

* Idem.

† Idem.

‡ Idem.

§ Let it be observed, that this address was written previous to the late modification of the British tariff.

APPENDIX, No. I.

The following excellent Report of the Committee of Agriculture of the House of Representatives of the United States, composed of

STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER, Esq. of *New York*,
 FRANCIS BAYLIES, Esq. of *New York*,
 ROBERT S. GARNET, Esq. of *Virginia*,
 ROBERT HARRIS, Esq. of *Pennsylvania*,
 THOMAS PATTERSON, Esq. of *Pennsylvania*,
 SAMUEL WHITMAN, Esq. of *Connecticut*,

embraces all the great principles of political economy, calculated to render a nation great and prosperous, and forms a proper appendix to the preceding address.

In the House of Representatives, March 19, 1824.

The committee on agriculture, to whom was referred the resolution of the House of Representatives, instructing them to inquire if an increase of the duty now established by law, on any article of foreign growth or manufacture, will be for the interest of the agriculturist; and, if there be any such article, to name the same, together with the additional amount of duty which they deem beneficial to the agricultural interest, respectfully submit the following report.

That, in the apprehension of your committee, *whatever increases the consumption of its products, whether at home or abroad, necessarily advances the interest of agriculture.* He who cultivates the soil, looks beyond the supply of his own wants for the profits of his labour. He looks to a market for the surplus products of his industry. *The home market, in the opinion of the committee, is at all times to be preferred to the foreign market,* when the reward of agricultural pursuits is equal; the former is less precarious than the latter; it is, also, *more permanent and certain, and above the reach of restraining and prohibitory duties of foreign hostility;* and when the home market can be increased in its demands, without diminishing in a greater degree the foreign consumption, it would seem wise and prudent to promote its extension by every rational means within the sphere of legislation.

Your committee consider the increase of duties on many foreign articles now imported into the United States, would *promote the agricultural prosperity of the nation.* A portion of population engaged in manufactures would necessarily depend on the farmer for subsistence, and create *a more perfect and profitable division of labour than now exists.* *A new market would be opened, and a new demand created, for all the raw materials which new manufactures would consume.* It cannot be denied, that if all the manufactured articles now consumed by the people of the United States, were manufactured within the bounds of our country, from the raw materials furnished by ourselves, *the value of our lands would be increased, and the profits of agricultural labour considerably augmented.* Demand and consumption would be directly extended, and a great extent of soil devoted to the growing of products that now afford no sufficient stimulus to cultivation. The soil and climate of the United States are capable of producing the various articles necessary for such manufacturing establishments as will most naturally flourish in this country, and of such as would inevitably be consumed, provided manufacturing labour should be extended. By a comprehensive and rigorous system of policy, calculated to unfold our agricultural resources, a spirit of emulation and industry would be diffused over the land. *a vast and active system of internal exchange would rise up; the expense of transportation in heavy articles would be, in a great measure, saved;* and, in fact, that which should be ardently wished for, in every agricultural

country, a home market would appear; this, too, would prove a market at once various, in point of demand, but *sure, steady and unchanging*. *The policy, the caprice, the selfishness, and the hostility of other nations could not affect it.* On this point, therefore, the committee cannot entertain any doubt. The extension of domestic manufactures, depending on the production of such raw materials as can be found in this country, must *increase the demand and consumption of those materials, and of course secure a new and ready market.*

As to the articles of foreign growth, to which an increase of duty should apply, in order to promote the prosperity of our agriculture, the committee need only remark, that, if the principles which they advance be sound, *the duty should embrace every raw material found or procured with ease and cheapness, and in abundance, in the United States.*

The committee have confined themselves to the home market, in the brief view which they have presented. The question how far the increase of this home market, by an increase of duty on foreign articles, would affect the demand of our agricultural products abroad, leads to a new train of considerations. The first inquiry which naturally occurs on this point is, what are the inducements with foreign nations to purchase the productions of our soil? what their motives? what the moving causes of the market which they extend? Is their policy founded on favour, reciprocity, self-interest, or necessity? On this subject, there is little ground for difference of opinion. *Foreign nations act not for us, but for themselves. Favour, and even reciprocity, form no basis for their measures towards us beyond the compass of bare expediency. They will consume our raw materials when they cannot do better; when they can, they will not consume them.* When the consumption of our agricultural products comes in contact with any principle of political economy applicable to their own condition, *a hostile tariff meets us at their shores. Hence, the foreign market, for the fruits of our soil, depends but little on the sale which foreign manufactures find in this country:* and, whether we purchase more or less, foreign nations will graduate their policy towards us, by a standard independent of any general system of duties which we may adopt; at least, so it appears to your committee.

How long would Great Britain purchase our cotton, if her own colonies could supply her demands? How many nations would consume any article that is cultivated by the American agriculturist, if they could find their demand supplied on better and more advantageous conditions, by home industry? These questions are answered by their proposition; it is, therefore, the opinion of the committee, that *the foreign market for our agricultural products, and for the staple articles of our exports, in the shape of raw materials, will not be essentially affected by any increase of duty on those foreign manufactures which are composed of similar materials.*

As to the amount of duty which should be imposed, it must always depend upon a variety of considerations, which need not be detailed: *it should be sufficient to secure the exclusive and constant demand of our raw materials, and to sustain the American manufacturer in his pursuits; it must be competent to build up and protect those manufacturing establishments at present in the country, and which, with a reasonable encouragement, will present a constant demand for those raw materials.*

In fact, as to the articles of foreign growth or manufacture, which should be taxed in order to increase our agricultural prosperity, your committee would refer, generally, to the tariff now before the house. The committee do not perceive the necessity of selecting any articles, or of imposing any duties, beyond those embraced by that bill.

APPENDIX, No. II.

The following Dialogue was published in the gazettes in the year 1819, and exhibits so clearly to agriculturists the intimate connexion between the prosperity of manufactures and agriculture, that its republication at present, is deemed likely to prove of essential benefit to the nation, by shedding strong light on a subject not sufficiently understood in general, and on a right conception of which, the prosperity of nations materially depends.

A Dialogue between an importer of English dry goods and a farmer seventy miles from Philadelphia.

Farmer. Good morning, Mr Importer; what price will you give me for flour to day?

Importer. I am not purchasing flour, to-day, sir.

F. Why? what is the reason of that? have you given up the export trade?

I. I suppose I need not tell you that the English government have made a corn bill to prohibit the importation of flour; and flour in all other countries of Europe, is lower priced than with us.

F. A corn bill? what sort of a thing is that?

I. It is a law to prevent the importation of grain and flour into England, except in times of scarcity; and if they had not a law of this kind, you would ruin all their farmers, by inundating their markets with flour and other produce.

F. Cannot the English farmers afford to sell flour at home cheaper than we can afford to sell it, after hauling it seventy miles over bad roads to this city, and then shipping it across the Atlantic?

I. I believe not.

F. And how happens that?

I. I do not understand these things very well; but I am informed that the English farmers have a great amount of taxes to pay to their government and church.

F. What! a great amount of taxes to pay to government now, in time of peace?

I. Yes! they pay fifteen shillings in taxes for a bushel of salt, which only costs about one shilling where it is made; and they pay taxes for both sunshine and candle light, and for leave to keep and ride their own horses; besides tithes, of the pigs, poultry, hay, grain, cabbages, even their cows—and even cows' milk, besides poor rates, county, and other taxes.

F. And does not the government pay the church parsons out of the general taxes?

I. No! the parsons of the established church take away one-tenth part of the produce of the farmer.

F. Why, then, the church of England parsons "*reap where they do not sow?*"

I. Nay, you are mistaken; they neither sow nor reap; they send their tithing men to fetch the corn out of the fields just when the farmers have reaped it;—and even when the sow farrows, the parson is entitled to one-tenth of the litter of pigs.

F. Well, if what you say be true, we need not wonder that the poor people meet together in large bodies to petition for reform.

I. What I tell you is true; but I have not told you all. The English farmers pay a rent every year to the great lords equal to the value of an entire farm in this country. In a word, the great lords, their lordships of the church, the parsons, and the government, take away more than two-thirds of all the produce of all the farmers in England.

F. And why don't the people resist those tithing men, who take their corn, and poultry, and milk?

I. Ah, my dear friend, it is easy to talk this way in this country, where every man has the right to carry arms. The people there have no guns. The great lords have made a law to transport the people for killing wild animals, such as hares and foxes, and wild birds, and under colour of keeping the hares and partridges for their own use, the common people are not allowed to keep guns in their houses. Now if you were an *English farmer*, you would be compelled to contribute for the support, and submit to the power and force, of a large army of soldiers, who are always ready to kill you, if you do not obey the laws made by the great lords.

* * * * *

F. And are the English ports to be shut against my flour, and our own ports to stand open to receive their manufactured articles?

I. As far as I can see, this appears to be our fate.

F. How are we to pay for their goods, if we do not sell them our products? Are we to carry on this trade until they have drawn away every hard dollar out of the country? I say *if they will not have my flour, I for one will not have their cloth*: and I hope that you importers will turn your attention to *importing manufacturers*, instead of *manufactured articles*, and make a market at home, and let Congress protect us farmers and our manufacturers, just in the same manner that they protect our coasting trade.

I. But would not our manufacturers impose upon us, and demand high prices?

F. Give them fair play. Let them have their own market. Give their machines *two-thirds* of the protection that is given to our coasting vessels. and the competition among them will soon be such as will reduce the prices low enough.

I. But have you forgotten the prices they charged you during the last war?

F. No, I have not; nor have I forgotten the price you and all the importers charged me. You importers actually charged higher prices during the late war, than our own manufacturers charged, and that too, without any good reason; because you importers *having paid no advanced price for the goods you had on hand, you might have sold for the old prices, but you would not*.

I. Surely we had a right to sell our goods for the highest price we could obtain.

F. And did not our own manufacturers possess the same right? I sold my wool to our manufacturers during the war, for more than double the price I now get for it. In fact, I cleared more money during the war and non-intercourse, than I ever did before or since, in the same length of time; and was it not for the horrid idea of people killing each other, I would say, let us have war forever, rather than this sort of losing trade we carry on now. Here I am, after hauling my flour seventy miles without a market, except I choose to take six dollars* a barrel for it. I have been foolish enough to vote for members of congress who were opposed to manufactures; but I shall know better in future. If *John Bull will not have my flour, I will not have his broad-cloth*; and if people at Washington vote *against me*, I shall vote for somebody else.

I. I am sorry that you will not wear imported cloth; but I hope you will change your mind.—But whatever you may pretend to do, there are those whom I am sure of as customers. I mean your wife and daughters. They will wear none of your domestic cloth. They are above that; and surely if you consult the interest of your family, you will purchase cloth where you can get it cheapest.

F. What you say may appear plausible, and it may be true enough for a time; but our wives and daughters may not always prefer foreign fashions and fabrics to the good of their country: but as to the rest of what you say, I disagree with you. In fact I had better pay a high price for home manufactured articles, and have them from the workshops in the valley alongside my farm, than have your foreign articles given me *gratis*, when to receive them would deprive those of bread who make the same kind of goods, and who made the market which I had at my door, during the war, for the sale of my produce.

F. What! better be imposed upon by domestic manufacturers than have

* N. B. This was written, Nov. 1819.

foreign goods given you *gratis*? Why you talk like a madman! you cannot believe what you say: the thing is impossible.

F. Have a little patience with me, and I will show you the effects of your importations upon my farm.

I. Well, come now; let me hear it.

F. When the manufactories were all in full operation, in our part of the country, I sold my produce for the following prices, to the people of the adjoining factories:

40 bbls. of flour a year, at \$7,	- - - - -	\$ 280 00
32 quarts of milk a day, or 11,680 quarts a year, at 2 cents a quart,	- - - - -	233 60
32 lbs. of butter a week, or 1664 lbs. a year, at 18 cents per lb.	- - - - -	299 52
140 bushels of potatoes, at 25 cents,	- - - - -	35 00
84 do. turnips, at 18 cents,	- - - - -	15 12
Cabbages and other vegetables,	- - - - -	15 00
360 dozen of eggs, at 10 cents per dozen,	- - - - -	36 00
175 pair of ducks, geese, hens, chickens, and turkeys, at 75 cents per pair,	- - - - -	131 25
4600 lbs. of mutton and lamb, retailed at 5 cents per pound,	- - - - -	230 00
7500 lbs. of beef, veal, and pork, at 7 cents per pound, retail,	- - - - -	525 00
Indian corn, buckwheat, rye, and fruit,	- - - - -	125 00
150 cords of fire-wood, at \$3 per cord,	- - - - -	450 00
Hauling do. at 50 cents per cord,	- - - - -	75 00
Hauling for the manufacturers, instead of hauling my produce 70 miles to this market,	- - - - -	200 00
480 lbs. of wool, at 150 cents per lb.	- - - - -	720 00
Tallow, hides, and skins,	- - - - -	150 00
		\$3520 49

The following is the total value of my produce for this present year:—

120 bbls. of flour, at \$6 per bbl. after hauling it 70 miles,	-	\$720 00
20 tubs of butter, 56 lbs. each, at 12½ cents per pound,	-	140 00
60 sheep, at \$2 each,	- - - - -	120 00
10 fatted oxen, at \$36 each,	- - - - -	360 00
17 hogs, at \$14 each,	- - - - -	238 00
4 horses, at \$40 each,	- - - - -	160 00
240 lbs. wool, at 75 cents per lb.	- - - - -	180 00
250 dozen of eggs, at 12½ cents per dozen,	- - - - -	31 25
175 pair of ducks, geese, hens, chickens, and turkeys, at \$1 per pair, after hauling them with the eggs to this market,	-	175 00
		\$2124 25

I. But you employed more people upon your farm, during the war, than you now employ.

F. Only the same persons then and now. Myself and three sons, my wife and two daughters, have done all the work upon our farm ever since we bought it.

I. I see no account of *milk, potatoes, turnips, cabbages, fruit, and fire-wood* in your last estimate.

F. I cannot afford to carry *milk, potatoes, &c. seventy miles to market*. I now keep more horses and oxen, and fewer cows and sheep. and I have more flour to sell. I am sorry I have killed and sold so many sheep, because our dollars and credit will soon be gone, and then we must make our own coats, or go without them. People then will be as eager to get sheep as they now are to part with them.

I. There appears to be a difference of 1396 dollars and 12 cents in the yearly value of your produce. Is this all profit?

F. No.

During the war I paid \$ 12 a yard for 10 yards of broad-cloth, for myself and three sons, each a coat and waistcoat, - - -	\$120 00
For eight yards of narrow cloth, for pantaloons, \$ 6 a yard, - - -	48 00
And for 24 yards of lining, at 50 cents per yard, - - -	12 00

\$ 180 00

You now offer me articles, similar in appearance, for just one-half price, - - - - -	90 00
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Balance in favour of imports, to be deducted, - - - - -	\$ 90 00
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But if I were to estimate the whole of our clothing together, for wife, daughters, and all, I should find the expense very near as much now as during the war; because some of your imported articles do not wear half so long as our own homespun stuffs.

I. And would you suffer your daughters to wear domestics?

F. Would I suffer! I should rejoice to see the whole of my family, wife, daughters, and all, clothed from head to foot, every day, *Sundays and all*, in nothing but domestics. But you import all sorts of new-fangled fashions with the foreign articles, and there is no end of the expense attending this everlasting love of variety and change of fashion.

I. There is some truth in what you say. What with Leghorn bonnets, merino shawls, and other foreign *fullals*, I find my family expenses in what is denominated *clothing*, nearly as great now as during the war. But if you stop imports, how would the government collect a revenue?

F. I would not stop imports; but if I was a member of congress, I would vote for a duty of not less than *seventy-five per cent.* on all kinds of foreign agricultural products, and of not less than fifty per cent. on all kinds of *foreign manufactured articles*. It is true, the quantity of imports would be reduced; but the revenue that would be collected upon *one-half* the quantity of imports would be equal in amount to all that is now collected, or more.

I. If that could be done, I see no reason why it should not. I think we should not carry our cotton to Europe, and sell it for twenty or thirty cents a pound there, to be mixed with flour paste, or starched up, and pressed, and put up in the form of piece goods; then brought back again, and sold from one to ten dollars a pound for cotton, paste, and other heavy substances, all mixed together.

F. But only think of the folly of having our manufactories in foreign countries. When my neighbours had their manufactories all in full operation, I received from them and their work-people—

213 dollars a year for milk.

159 do. do. more than I now get for butter.

65 dollars for turnips, potatoes, cabbages, &c.

305 dollars more for mutton, lamb, beef, veal, and pork.

525 dollars for fire-wood and hauling.

200 dollars for hauling for the manufactories.

And double the price I now get for my wool.

But since the manufactories have nearly all been ruined by imports, I have not received a single dollar for milk, fire-wood, or hauling, except, alas! for hauling some of their furniture away from the factories on the creek, after it had been sold by the sheriff.

I. I had no idea that manufactories were of so much importance to the farmers.

F. But what must be the situation of our farmers in the states of Ohio and Kentucky, think you?

I. I scarce know what to think, or what to say. But I am sure something is wrong; for I can scarcely collect as much money as will support myself and family. It is not more than three years since I could show a clear balance of 56,000 dollars, after paying all my debts: but now, alas, alas! if you only knew my situation, you would not envy the merchants.

F. Why you astonish me! but I must go, and try to sell my flour; and I hope our congress will make a new law before another harvest, which will set

the wheels, and spindles, and shuttles, and anvils, and workshops, all to work again. But before we part, let us just sum up and see how the account stands.

Yearly amount received on one farm for produce when the manufactories were all in motion, - - - - -	\$3520 49
Total amount I now receive for my produce, with all the wheels, shuttles, and spindles, still as death, - - - - -	2124 25
	1396 24
Total amount paid for high-priced cloth a year during the war, - - - - -	180 00
Value of the same quantity of cloth at this present time, - - - - -	90 00
	90 00
Balance in favour of one farm, when hammers, wheels, spindles, and shuttles were all in motion, - - - - -	\$1306 24

If you count the number of farms so circumstanced, and add the loss together, then you may have some notion of the loss and gain to farmers when there are manufactures at home, and when they are destroyed.

APPENDIX, No. III.

Admirable Principles of Political Economy. Extracted from the prospectus of the Philadelphia Emporium, in 1813, edited by THOMAS COOPER,† M. D. then judge of the Supreme Court of the State of Pennsylvania, now President of Columbia College, S. C. author of a tract on the Alteration of the Tariff, in 1824, and of Lectures on Political Economy, 1826.*

1st. Our population is becoming scattered over such an extent of territory, that the nation is really weakened by it. Defence is more difficult and expensive. Active hostility almost impossible. The communication of society, and of course of knowledge, is greatly retarded. Many of our citizens are tempted to live in a half savage state. And even the administration of law, and the maintenance of order and necessary subordination, is rendered imperfect, tardy, and expensive.

2dly. *Our agriculturists want a home market. Manufactures would supply it. Agriculture, at great distances from seaports, languishes for want of this.* Great Britain exhibits an instance of unexampled power and wealth by means of an agriculture greatly dependent on a system of manufactures—and her agriculture, thus situated, is the best in the world, though still capable of great improvement.

3dly. We are too much dependent upon Great Britain for articles that habit has converted into necessities. A state of war demands privations that a large portion of our citizens reluctantly submit to. *Home manufactures would greatly lessen the evil.*

4thly. *By means of debts incurred for foreign manufactures, we are almost again become colonists*—we are too much under the influence, indirectly, of British merchants and British agents. We are not an independent people.—Manufactures among us would tend to correct this, and give a stronger tone of nationality at home. I greatly value the intercourse with that country of pre-eminent knowledge and energy; but our dependence upon it is often so great, as to be oppressive to ourselves.

* It is not extravagant praise to assert, that this brief essay contains more good sense, and a more rational scheme of policy, than all the writings of all the political economists of the new school united.

† As great importance has been attached to the recent opinions of this gentleman against the protection of manufactures, it is thought proper to put the public in possession of the opinions promulgated by him in 1813, so that they may compare them together, decide on their respective merits, reject the erroneous ones, and adopt those founded in reason and common sense, whether pro or con.

5thly. *The state of agriculture would improve with the improvement of manufactures*, by means of the general spirit of energy and exertion, which *no where exists in so high a degree as in a manufacturing country*; and by the general improvement of machinery, and the demand for raw materials.

6thly. The introduction of manufactures would extend knowledge of all kinds, particularly scientific. The elements of natural philosophy and of chemistry, now form an indispensable branch of education among the manufacturers of England. They cannot get on without it. They cannot understand or keep pace with the daily improvements in manufactures without scientific knowledge; and scientific knowledge is not insulated; it must rest upon previous learning. The tradesmen of Great Britain at this day, can furnish more profound thinkers on philosophical subjects, more acute and accurate experimenters, more real philosophers, thrice told, than all Europe could furnish a century ago. I wish that were the case here; but it is not so. I fear it is not true, that we are the most enlightened people upon the face of the earth; unless the facility of political declamation be the sole criterion of decision, and the universal test of talent. We should greatly improve, in my opinion, by a little more attention to mathematical and physical science; I would therefore encourage whatever would introduce a general taste for such pursuits.

7thly. *Because the home trade, consisting in the exchange of agricultural surpluses for articles of manufacture, produced in our own country, will, for a long time to come, furnish the safest and the least dangerous, the least expensive and the least immoral—the most productive and the most patriotic employment of surplus capital, however raised and accumulated.* The *safest*, because it requires no navies exclusively for its protection; the *least dangerous*, because it furnishes no excitement to the prevailing madness of commercial wars; the *least expensive*, for the same reason that it is the safest and the least dangerous; the *least immoral*, because it furnishes no temptation to the breach or evasion of the laws; to the multiplication of oaths and perjuries; and to the consequent prostration of all religious feeling, and all social duty: the *most productive*, because the capital admits of quicker return; because the whole of the capital is permanently invested and employed at home; because it contributes, directly, immediately, and wholly, to the internal wealth and resources of the nation; because the credits given, are more easily watched, and more effectually protected by our own laws, well known, easily resorted to, and speedily executed, than if exposed in distant and in foreign countries, controlled by foreign laws and foreign customs, and at the mercy of foreign agents; the *most patriotic*, because it binds the persons employed in it, by all the ties of habit and of interest to their own country; while foreign trade tends to denationalize the affections of those whose property is dispersed in foreign countries, whose interests are connected with foreign interests, whose capital is but partially invested at the place of their domicile, and who can remove with comparative facility from one country to another. The wise man observed of old, that “where the treasure is, there will the heart be also.” And time has not detracted from the truth of the remark.

Nor can there be any fear that for a century to come, there will not be full demand produced by a system of home manufacture, for every particle of surplus produce that agriculture can supply. Consider for a moment what are the articles that may fairly be regarded as of the first necessity, that an agricultural capitalist will require either to conduct his business or for his reasonable comforts. 1st. The *iron manufacture* in all its branches, from the ore to the boiling pans, the grate, the stove, the tire, the ploughshare, the spade, the scythe, the knife and fork, the sword and the gun: the *copper manufacture*, for his distilling vessels; for the bolts and sheathing of ships: the *lead manufacture*, for his paints and his shot: the *tin manufacture*, for his kitchen utensils: the manufacturing of powder for blasting and for fire-arms: he cannot dispense with the wheelwright, the millwright, the carpenter, the joiner, the tanner, the currier, the saddler, the potter, the glass-maker, the spinner, the weaver, the fuller, the dyer, the shoemaker, the hatter, the maker of machines and tools, and very many trades and handicrafts not enumerated. Of all these occupations, every one of which may be employed in furnishing articles either of

immediate necessity, of reasonable want, or of direct connection with agriculture, we have in abundance the raw materials of manufacture, and the raw material, uninstructed man, to manufacture them. Is it to be pretended that these occupations, when fully under way at home, will not furnish a market for the superfluous produce of agriculture, provided that produce be, as it necessarily will be, suited to the demand? Or ought this variety of occupation, and, above all, the mass of real knowledge it implies, to be renounced and neglected for the sake of foreign commerce—that we may not interfere with the profits and connexions of the merchants who reside among us, and that we may be taxed, and tolerated, and licensed to fetch from abroad, what we can with moderate exertion supply at home? And yet this is the doctrine not merely advocated and recommended among use, but likely to become the fashionable creed of political economy, wherever mercantile interests and connexions prevail. It appears to me of national importance to counteract these notions. As a source of national wealth, I would no more encourage manufacture than I would encourage commerce. I would encourage or discourage neither: for I am persuaded that the aggregate of individual, constitutes national wealth; and that a government is conceited and presumptuous, when it attempts to instruct an individual how he can employ his industry and his capital most beneficially for his own interest.

As a means of national defence and national independence—as a means of propagating among our citizens the most useful and practical kinds of knowledge—as a means of giving that energetic, frugal, calculating, and foreseeing character to every branch of our national industry, that does not exist but among a manufacturing people—as a means of multiplying our social enjoyments by condensing our population—and as a means of fixing the consumers and the producers in the immediate neighbourhood of each other—I would encourage the commencement at least of home manufacture. Not the manufacture of gold and silver—not the velvets of Lyons, or the silks of Spitalfields—the laces of Brussels, and the lawns of Cambray—not the clinquallerie and bijouterie of Paris and Birmingham, but such as we feel the want of in time of war; such as may fairly be regarded as of prime necessity, or immediately connected with agricultural wants and pursuits.

8thly. I would remark, that nature seems to have furnished the materials of manufacture more abundantly, in Pennsylvania in particular, than in any country I know of. *The very basis of all profitable manufacture, is plenty of fuel, easily, cheaply, and permanently procurable: the next desirable object is plenty of iron ore; iron being the article upon which every other manufacture depends.* It is to the plentiful distribution of these two commodities, that Great Britain is chiefly indebted for the pre-eminence of her manufactures and her commerce. I have not a doubt on my mind, but both pitcoal and iron ore are more plentifully distributed in Pennsylvania than in Great Britain; and that both the one and the other can be gotten at more easily and cheaply in this country than in that. Moreover we have a decided superiority in the raw materials, cotton, hemp, and flax; in our alkalies for glass works; in the hides and the tanning materials of the leather manufactory: and we can easily procure that advantage, so far at least, as our own consumption requires it, in the woollen manufactory. Other branches might be enumerated wherein our advantages of internal resource are undeniable; but I cannot see why we should neglect or despise these. *Nothing but a stimulus is wanted to induce and enable us to make a proper use of our domestic riches.* But men of skill and men of capital fear to begin; lest on the return of peace they should be exposed, in the weakness and infancy of their undertaking, to contend with the overwhelming capital and skill of the European powers, particularly of Great Britain.

For these reasons, I think it would be expedient so far to aid the introduction of manufactures in this country, by protecting duties, as to afford a reasonable prospect of safety to the prudent investment of capital, and the industrious pursuit of business; but no bounty to wild speculation, to negligent workmanship, or to smuggling.

Carlisle, Feb. 1813.

THOMAS COOPER.

APPENDIX, No. IV.

COLBERT,—No. I.

Fourth Edition, April 25, 1827.

It was believed that the question of the right of congress to impose duties for the protection of manufactures, was finally settled—and that irritation would never again be excited on the subject. The belief has proved nugatory. Mr. Hamilton, of South Carolina, in a speech manifesting considerable warmth and strong feeling, has again asserted the unconstitutionality of the system.

“When, in violation of the constitution of the United States, you talked of *encouraging domestic manufactures*, did they [the southern members] not point to that part of the proceedings of the convention that framed the constitution, in which the power to promote and encourage the useful arts, &c. by *BOUNTIES*, was expressly refused to you? Did they not tell you, that the rights of one part of the community were invaded by an *iniquitous taxation*, for the benefit of a smaller part?”—*Mr. Hamilton's Speech, Jan. 22, 1827.*

This is harsh language—and, even if correct, is not very decorous towards that legislature of the nation, which enacted the existing tariff, a tariff now branded with the opprobrious and disgraceful stigma of “*an iniquitous taxation*,” and “a violation of the constitution.” But what shall we say of this very strong reprobation, when it is proved to be utterly unsound in principle?

Nothing can be more illogical than to style a “*protecting duty*,” a “*bounty*.” It is an utter perversion of terms. The operation of both, it is true, is very nearly similar. But to insist, from this result, that they are the same, is just as correct as to assert that beef and bread are the same substances, because they equally contribute to support the human frame.

On the subject of the constitutionality of protecting manufactures, it may suffice to refer the reader to the subsequent essay, published a year since, in which the sentiments of the first congress are to be found, fully and completely expressed, beyond the power of cavil, at a time when the meaning of the framers of the constitution, and the proper bearing of that instrument, were certainly as well understood as they can be at present, by Mr. Archer, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Stevenson, or Mr. Tatnal. The solemn acts of legislation of that body corresponded exactly with those sentiments. They protected by duties agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; but the second very inefficiently indeed—as the manufacturers were almost wholly unrepresented.

And however willing the world may be, to do complete justice to the extraordinary talents and pure patriotism of Mr. Hamilton, he will not be offended at the assertion, that Mr. Madison, one of the purest and soundest men that Virginia ever produced, is not inferior to him—and when in the year 1789, Mr. Madison, and most of the other leading members of congress, recently from the convention, not only admitted the right, but advocated the exercise of that right, to protect manufactures, surely it is among the most wonderful things of the present very wonderful age, that enlightened men, and enlightened bodies of men, should now denounce its exercise as a violation of the constitution. Among the aberrations of the human mind, this will certainly hold a very conspicuous rank.

Mr. Madison.—“Regulations have been provided, [in some of the states,] and have succeeded, in producing some establishments, which *ought not to be allowed to perish* from the alteration which has taken place. It would be cruel to neglect them, and direct their industry to other channels; for it is not possible for the hand of man to shift from one employment to another

“without being injured by the change. There may be some manufactures, which, being once formed, can advance toward perfection without any adventitious aid: while others, for want of the fostering hand of government, will be unable to go on at all. Legislative attention will therefore be necessary to collect the proper objects for this purpose.”—Lloyd’s Debates, Vol. I. p. 26.

The same.—“The states that are most advanced in population, and ripe for manufactures, ought to have their particular interests attended to in some degree. While these states retained the power of making regulations of trade, they had the power to protect and cherish such institutions; by adopting the present constitution, they have thrown the exercise of this power into other hands: they must have done this with an expectation that those interests would not be neglected here.”—Idem, p. 24.

General Washington’s sentiments on the subject, are certainly entitled to great attention.

In his message to congress, 1790, he states—

“Their safety and interest require that they should promote such manufactures as tend to render them independent of others for essential, particularly military supplies.”

To promote here can have no other meaning than to protect. No other mode of promotion was in the power of congress.

Again:—

“The encouragement of manufactures is of too much importance not to insure a continuance of their efforts in every way that shall appear eligible.”—Message of 1796.

Mr. Jefferson’s views corresponded exactly with those of general Washington. In his message of 1802, he distinctly recommends the protection of manufactures to congress.

“To cultivate peace, maintain commerce and navigation; to foster our fisheries, and PROTECT MANUFACTURES, adapted to our circumstances, &c. are the land-marks by which to guide ourselves in all our relations.”

And are the overwhelming testimonies of General Washington, Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Madison, to be set aside by the new-fangled construction of Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Tatnal, Mr. Cuthbert, Mr. Archer, &c. &c.? Forbid it, reason and common sense. We might, if such a construction were attempted to be forced upon us, say with Mr. Tatnal, when he so violently opposed the attempt to rescue from ruin our manufactures, on which the middle states so mainly depend—

“Shall we submit to such treatment—No sir, we cannot,” &c. &c. &c.

But this is language we scorn to use.

Supposing with Mr. Hamilton, however illogically, that protecting duties are “bounties,” have we no precedent to plead for them? Has our government refrained from “bounties,” as “the accursed thing” that “violates the constitution?” What will Mr. Hamilton say, when he reads the following section of a law, passed July 29, 1813:—

“On all pickled fish of the fisheries of the United States, exported therefrom, subsequent to the last day of December, 1814, there shall be allowed and paid a BOUNTY—[yes, Mr. Hamilton, a bounty,] of twenty cents per barrel.”

It will be said, this is but a drawback of the extravagant and enormous duty on salt. This is no answer. It is to all intents and purposes a bounty. But I lay no sort of stress on this fact. The argument is too strong to need it.

But has the government laid no duties on importation for the protection of agriculture?

The high duties on cotton and hemp, in 1789, were laid expressly to encourage the growth of those articles in the south, the staples of

which were then most lamentably depreciated, as witness the Jeremiah of Ædanus Burke, on the 16th of April, in that year.

"The staple products of South Carolina and Georgia, were hardly worth cultivation, on account of their fall in price. The lands were certainly well adapted to the growth of hemp, and he had no doubt but its culture would be practised with attention. Cotton was likewise in contemplation among them; and if good seed could be procured, HE HOPED MIGHT SUCCEED. But the low strong rice lands would produce hemp in abundance, many thousand tons even this year, if it were not too late in the season."—Lloyd's Debates of Congress, Vol. I. p. 79.

Mr. Tucker, another of the representatives from South Carolina, joined in the doleful chorus with Mr. Burke—

"The situation of South Carolina was melancholy. While the inhabitants were deeply in debt, the produce of the state was daily falling in price. Rice and indigo were become so low, as to be considered by many not objects worthy of cultivation."—Idem, page 93.

The duties imposed at that time on those bulky raw materials, cotton and hemp, were 150 per cent. higher than those on the finest cotton or hempen goods!!!!

Cotton sells now to the south for 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 cents per lb. The duty, which is actually prohibitory, is *three cents*, equal to an average of 35 per cent. or 50 per cent. on the lowest qualities.

The cheese imported in 1825, averaged about 16 cents, (29,067 lbs. cost \$ 4663.) The duty is *nine cents*, equal to 54 per cent. But cheese in Holland is only, 6, 7, 8, or 9 cents per lb. and, therefore, so far as regards that quality, the duty is from 100 to 150 per cent. I trust no man of honour will deny that this is a protecting duty. It is in a great degree prohibitory.

The enormous duties on snuff and tobacco, from 70 to 90 per cent. imposed in 1789, were intended to be, and actually were, prohibitory. The object was to secure the tobacco planter the consumption of the country, and this was effectually accomplished.

The exorbitant duty, three cents per lb. equal to 75 a 100 per cent. on brown sugar, a necessary of life, used chiefly by the poor, is for the protection of the wealthy planters of Louisiana, who always vote en masse against the protection of manufactures, by duties of 25, 30, or 33 per cent. The duties on sugar operate most ruinously on the merchants engaged in the West India trade, in which that article forms a chief item of remittance, and is always, or at least almost always, a losing concern. The attempts to reduce the duty to 2½ cents per pound were rejected by the southern votes, which are rarely divided.

A member of congress voting against a small reduction of the duty of 75 or 100 per cent. in his own favour, on a bulky article, subject to heavy freight, and next hour voting against a duty of 30 or 40 per cent. in favour of his fellow citizens on a light article, such as cottons, exhibits a moral phænomenon, not calculated to excite very pleasurable sensations in a philosophical mind.

So much for the protecting duties in favour of agriculture.

Mr. Hamilton's distress about the sufferings of the poor, from the proposed duty on coarse woollens, might be easily alleviated, and his mind restored to its usual state of serenity, by reflecting on the often-quoted case of coarse cottons, the very high duty on which was opposed on similar grounds. The article is now one hundred per cent. better than when imported—and is sold at half the price, mak-

ing a difference of seventy-five per cent. in favour of the poor, who excite so much of Mr. Hamilton's commiseration. That is to say, one yard of domestic cottons, now sold for twelve and a half cents, will wear twice as long as a yard of India muslin, which was sold at twenty-five cents; and, but for the domestics, would continue at or near that price. Coarse cottons, in 1816, excited the same degree of the commiseration of some of the members of the then congress, lest the poor should be oppressed and injured by high duties on the article as the coarse woollens do now!

To conclude :—

Mr. Hamilton has expressed an idea having a close affinity with the threats held out by Mr. Tatnal in regard to the tariff of 1824—

"Are you prepared," said Mr. T. "by passing THIS INFERNAL BILL, to add to *"a poverty which is wearing one portion of our country to the bone."* Is it thought *"that we will tamely submit to this treatment? No, sir, we cannot. By heaven, we will not."*

Mr. Hamilton very gravely and soberly informs us, that the tariff bill "*shook the Union to its centre.*" This is a subject of the utmost delicacy, on which it is difficult to refrain from expatiating largely and severely. There is no more fertile subject of discussion for the middle or eastern states—and none which ought to be more carefully shunned by the southern. It is fraught with materials for "*spontaneous combustion*"—which do not require any agent to produce an explosion. The discussion is therefore waived. And woe, tenfold woe, befall the man who "*casteth about fire-brands, arrows, and death*"—"and saith, *am I not in sport?*" But let it be distinctly observed, and let the observation sink deeply into the minds of those by whom the threat is so frequently and so wantonly broached, that it ought never to be pressed by any part of the Union, but more particularly by the southern states, which are by far the most vulnerable, and the least able to carry such threats into execution. The other states have too long and too patiently submitted to these very intemperate—very imprudent—very impolitic—very offensive—and, more than all, very impotent menaces—which no earthly consideration could justify—and nothing for a moment palliate, but the effervescence of inexperience, or the petulance and impetuosity of tempers of morbid irascibility. For a thousand reasons, the threats might be retorted with tenfold force. They ought, therefore, to be forborne for ever. "*Quousque tandem abutere patientiâ nostrâ?*"

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COLBERT.

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Is congressional protection of manufactures a violation of the Constitution?

This is an important question, which has never, it is believed, been fully discussed. It ought to have been finally settled long since.

Whenever, of late years, the question of protecting the industry of that useful and numerous portion of our citizens engaged in furnishing a domestic market for the flour, the beef, the pork, the mut-

ton, the lamb, the poultry, the vegetables, the spirits, the cotton, the wool, the hides, the skins, the hair, the tallow, the timber, the hemp, the flax, the coals, the iron, the lead, the copper, of their fellow citizens who cultivate the soil, or explore the bowels of the earth for her hidden treasures, has been agitated, a formidable opposition has been excited among those very fellow citizens, on the ground of the constitution presenting an insuperable bar—thus unwisely, as far as in them lay, endeavouring to depress, and diminish the number of, their best customers and supporters, and alas! to their own most serious injury, but too successfully.

In many cases the opposition to measures contemplated or adopted, arises from the address of designing men exciting the passions and prejudices of the ignorant and uninformed. This is by no means the case in the present instance. The opposition embraces some of the most enlightened and estimable citizens in the United States. John Taylor, of Caroline, whose talents and rectitude were never called in question, was a leader of this school. A governor of one of the southern states, Virginia, I believe, denounced the system in a recent message to the legislative body—and in the legislature of South Carolina, a resolution, declaring such protection unconstitutional, was lately passed:—

“Resolved, that it is an unconstitutional exercise of power on the part of congress, to lay duties to protect domestic manufactures.”

While the intelligence and integrity of the opposers of protection, are freely admitted, it may be confidently asserted, that an equal portion of integrity and intelligence has been arrayed on the other side of the question.

In this conflict of opinions, it is well worth while to investigate the subject thoroughly, and ascertain whether there be any clue to guide us in our researches, and to establish the soundness or unsoundness of the doctrine, beyond the power of controversy.

The power of congress to impose duties, restrictions, and prohibitions *for the protection of our citizens engaged in commerce*, has been exercised times without number, and never been once impugned. And it would be difficult to prove that it is not equally the right and the obligation of congress to impose duties, restrictions, and prohibitions *for the protection of another class of citizens, certainly not less useful, and at least ten times as numerous*,* unless it can be proved that commercial men have privileges peculiar to themselves, to which manufacturers have no claim.

In the first session of the first congress, the duties on teas imported in American vessels, averaged 12 cents per pound; whereas on those imported in foreign vessels, the average was 27 cents—being a difference of 125 per cent. Here were duties imposed solely for the

* By the last census, the number of citizens engaged in **TRADE** and *commerce*, was about four per cent. of our population. *Herein were included shopkeepers of all kinds.—More than half the number are in the interior of the country, where there is not a single merchant.* Those engaged in what is properly styled “*commerce*,” are not probably *one per cent.* of the entire population. Those employed in manufactures were, in 1820, 14 per cent.—and in six of the states 22 per cent.

protection of navigation and commerce. This single case, with impartial and unbiassed minds, might probably be admitted to settle the question, and to put down forever the very erroneous doctrine of the unconstitutionality of the system. But it would be manifest injustice to confine it to this support, when others, much more cogent, may be stated.

The first congress contained probably one-half of the members of the convention that framed the constitution—and, moreover, many of the most strenuous opposers of that constitution, eagle-eyed to watch and guard against its violation. The former class could not by any possibility be mistaken as to the true intent and meaning of that instrument. In that congress certainly were men as high-minded, as pure, and as enlightened, as any citizens of the present day, without exception. In the list were Madisons, Clymers, Carrolls, Gerrys, Muhlenbergs, Morrises, Fitzsimonses, Ames, Pages, Tuckers, Boudinots, Wadsworths, Blands, Livermores, Goodhues, Jacksons, Shermans, &c. Were all these citizens so absurd as to mistake the intent and meaning of, or so wicked as to deliberately violate, a constitution, which they had sacredly sworn to support, and which so many of them had aided to frame? It would be folly to answer in the affirmative. Yet either they did thus grossly violate the constitution, or the objection we are discussing is invalid; for the “protection of manufactures by duties on importation,” was explicitly avowed by most of them at various times—and I have examined the debates, and believe I am perfectly justified in saying, it was never once opposed as unconstitutional. Various duties were, it is true, opposed, and some of them vehemently, on the ground of their assumed unequal operation—but no one lisped a word on the ground of unconstitutionality. I might refer the reader to the debates of the first congress, to decide this important point. But the book is scarce, and, even if otherwise, few would take the trouble to examine it. I hope, therefore, I shall be pardoned for a pretty copious collection of extracts, which, I trust, will be found to establish irresistibly the sense of that congress on the subject.

Mr. Clymer “did not object to this mode of encouraging manufactures, and “obtaining revenue, by combining the two objects in one bill: *he was satisfied that a political necessity existed for both the one and the other.*”—Lloyd’s Debates of Congress, vol. I. p. 31.

Mr. C. “hoped gentlemen would be disposed to *extend a degree of patronage to a manufacture [steel] which a moment’s reflection would convince them was highly deserving protection.*”—Idem, page 69.

Mr. Carroll “moved to insert *window and other glass: a manufacture of this article was begun in Maryland, and attended with considerable success. If the legislature was to grant a small encouragement, it would be permanently established.*”—Idem, p. 94.

Mr. Wadsworth.—“By moderating the duties, we shall obtain revenue, and *give that encouragement to manufactures which is intended.*”—Idem, p. 128.

Mr. Ames “thought this a useful and accommodating manufacture [nails] which yielded a clear gain of all it sold for, but the cost of the material; the labour employed in it would be thrown away probably in many instances. * * * He hoped the article would remain in the bill.”—Idem, 81.

The same.—“The committee were already informed of the flourishing situation of the manufacture, [nails;] but they ought not to join the gentle-

"man from South Carolina, (Mr. Tucker,) in concluding that *it did not there-fore deserve legislative protection*; he had no doubt but *the committee would con-cur in laying a small protecting duty in favour of this manufacture.*"—Idem, p. 82.

Mr. Fitzsimons "was willing to allow a small duty, because it was the po-licy of the states who *thought it proper in this manner to protect their manu-factures.*"—Idem, p. 83.

The same.—"It being my opinion that an enumeration of articles will tend to clear away difficulties, I wish as many to be selected as possible; for this reason I have prepared myself with an additional number: among these are some calculated to protect the productions of our country, and *protect our infant manufactures.*"—Idem, p. 17.

Mr. Hartley.—"If we consult the history of the ancient world, [meaning Eu-rope,] we shall see that they have thought proper for a long time past to give great encouragement to establish manufactures by laying such partial duties on the importation of foreign goods as to give the home manufactures a considerable advantage in the price when brought to market. *** I think it both politic and just, that the fostering hand of the general government should extend to all those manufactures which will tend to national utility. Our stock of materials is, in many instances, equal to the greatest demand, and our artisans sufficient to work them up, even for exportation. In those cases, *I take it to be the policy of every enlightened nation to give their manufactures the degree of encourage-ment necessary to perfect them, without oppressing the other parts of the com-munity; and under this encouragement, the industry of the manufacturer will be employed to add to the wealth of the nation.*"—Idem, p. 22.

Mr. White.—"In order to charge specific articles of manufacture so as to en-courage our domestic ones, it will be necessary to examine the present state of each throughout the Union."—Idem, p. 19.

Mr. Boudinot.—"I shall certainly move for it, [the article of glass,] as I suppose we are capable of manufacturing this as well as many others. In fact, it is well known, that we have and can do it as well as most nations; the materials being almost all produced in our country."—Idem, p. 28.

The same.—"Let us take then the resolution of congress in 1783, and make it the basis of our system, adding only such protecting duties as are necessary to support the manufactures established by the legislatures of the manufacturing states."—Idem, 34.

Mr. Simmickson "declared himself a friend to this manufacture, [beer,] and thought if the duty was laid high enough to effect a prohibition, the manufacture would increase, and of consequence the price be lessened."—Idem, p. 65.

Mr. Lawrence "thought that if candles were an object of considerable im-portation, they ought to be taxed for the sake of obtaining revenue; and if they were not imported in considerable quantities, the burden upon the consumer would be small, while it tended to cherish a valuable manufacture."—Idem, p. 68.

Mr. Madison "moved to lay an impost of eight cents on all beer imported. He did not think this would give a monopoly; but hoped it would be such an encouragement as to induce the manufacture to take deep root in every state in the union."—Idem, p. 65.

Mr. Fitzsimons "moved to lay a duty of two cents per pound on tallow candles. The manufacture of candles is an important manufacture, and far advanced to perfection. I have no doubt but in a few years we shall be able to supply the consumption of every part of the continent." Mr. Fitzsimons stated that Pennsylvania had imposed that duty, and added "under the ope-ration of this small encouragement, the manufacture has gained considera-ble strength * * * It will be politic in the government of the United States to con-tinue such duties until their object is accomplished."—Idem, p. 67.

The same. "Suppose 5 per cent. were imposed [on unwrought steel] it might be, as stated, a partial duty—but would not the evil be soon overbalanced by the establishment of such an important manufacture?"—Idem, p. 69.

Mr. Bland "thought a duty on nails an unequal tax—burdening the south-

“ern states, but not felt by the northern, who made only enough for their own consumption.”—*Idem*.

Mr. Bland. “When he looked at the list of articles, he saw some calculated to give encouragement to home manufactures. This might be in some degree proper. But it was a well known fact, that the manufacturing arts were only in their infancy, and far from being able to answer the demands of the country.”—*Idem*, p. 39.

Here, as I have stated, are objections to duties on account of their oppressive tendency, but not a word in denial of the constitutionality of the system.

Mr. Sherman “moved six cents per lb. on manufactured tobacco; as he thought the duty ought to amount to a prohibition. On snuff ten cents.—*Idem*, p. 93.

I trust these extracts, to which copious additions might be made, are abundantly sufficient to settle this question forever. But this is not all. The preamble of the second act of congress, dated July 20, 1789, signed by General Washington, president of the Federal Convention, and president of the United States, is in the following words:

“Whereas it is necessary for the support of government—for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROTECTION OF MANUFACTURES, that duties be laid on goods, wares, and merchandize imported.”

The practice of government during the whole of its existence has been conformable to these views: and I confidently ask, therefore, are not objections at present on the ground of unconstitutionality, wholly out of time and place, and utterly untenable?

COLBERT.

Philadelphia, Jan. 7, 1826.

P. S. March 29, 1827. A curious fact on this subject, deserves to be noticed, to show the extent to which party passions often lead the best of men, particularly when collected in masses. While Mr. Giles's famous resolutions were lately pending in the legislature of Virginia, one of which denounced the exercise of the power of protecting manufactures as unconstitutional, the writer of these essays sent a copy of them to every member of that body, in the hope that the overwhelming evidence they contain, of the untenable nature of Mr. Giles's resolution, would prevent its passage. But the hope was vain. The resolution passed by a large majority, in spite of the testimony of General Washington, Mr. Madison, Mr. Clymer, Mr. Ames, Mr. Wadsworth, Mr. Fitzsimons, Mr. Boudinot, Mr. Lawrence, &c. &c. It therefore irresistibly follows, I repeat it emphatically, if the resolution of the legislature of Virginia be correct, that either those elevated citizens were grossly ignorant of the plain meaning of the constitution, or perjured themselves by a barefaced violation of it. To the world at large an appeal is made to decide the question between that illustrious band of statesmen, and Mr. Giles, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Tatnal, Mr. Hayne, Mr. Archer, and Mr. M'Duffie.